

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N^o. CXVI.

ART. I.—IN THE NIZAM'S COUNTRY.

NATURALLY there are a number of things which an inquiring stranger finds it hard to understand when first he begins to look about him in India. Some of these only puzzle him the more, the longer he thinks over them; but others gradually become intelligible. Among the former, for example, is the question why it is that, notwithstanding the general extension of railways, our European soldiers, instead of being quartered in health and vigour on the hills, are still located for the most part on the very spots occupied by them five and twenty years ago; when it took as many weeks as it now does days to move a regiment or battery on any sudden emergency from one point to another. Vast sums of money are being laid out, in order to erect on the plains themselves colossal barracks, such as it is fondly hoped will serve, if not to alter the climate of the districts in which they stand, at all events to prevent it from producing its natural effects on the constitutions of those subjected to it. If a register were obtained of admittances to hospital, invalidings, and deaths among European soldiers year by year for the last ten or fifteen years, at stations where barrack-building has been going on during that time on its grandest scale, that would greatly assist us in judging what effect on health the new barracks really have had.

Another matter which puzzled the present writer, on finding himself, early in the year 1869, serving in the heart of His Highness the Nizam's country, was the circumstance of a large division of the imperial army of India having been told off apparently for the exclusive use and advantage of our feudatory the Nawab of Hyderabad. This was a point on which many a growl was uttered over numerous mess-tables. That an ardent *sabreur* like Cornet Longlegs, for example, should be sent to kick, albeit without cooling, his heels in the centre of an Indian State, all for the sake of saving the Nizam from being

swallowed up by his own servants, or otherwise made away with, seemed against the natural order of things. But the subject, like most other subjects, was soon seen to admit of being looked at from quite another than the gallant Cornet's point of view. First of all, it was evident that the Nizam had not secured to himself the services of such a force for nothing; nor even in consideration of what political love to expatiate on as the 'ancient friendship subsisting between the two Governments.' The fact is one of his ancestors—the wisest of the family it may be presumed—had in a manner purchased the force from us outright; or at all events, by ceding to us early in the present century a large extent of territory, had obtained from us a treaty stipulation by which we still stand pledged always to maintain within his dominions a certain fixed strength of European and native battalions detailed from our own military establishments. The Hyderabad Subsidiary Force is the name which was given at the time, and is still applied, to this armament. It is not a separate force, or Contingent; but is furnished and relieved by the Madras army, to which the regiments and batteries composing it belong. It is quartered partly in the old Cantonment of Secunderabad, which takes its name from a flourishing native town in its vicinity; and partly in certain ranges of stately barracks, which have been under erection for many years a couple of miles or so to the northward, and have given a 'local habitation and a name' on the map of India to the obscure hamlet of Trimulgherry lying near them. The whole position is within a convenient distance of the Nizam's capital. His Highness has clearly had the best of a bargain which has served, like the above, to interpose an impregnable bulwark between his line and the chances of intestinal commotion during the greater portion of the century. Moreover a more flattering and pleasant mode could hardly have been resorted to for obtaining from the Nawab that contribution to the general defence of the empire at large, which it is plainly incumbent on every native State to furnish. The next time the gods send India another Marquis of Dalhousie to govern it, let us hope he will not occupy himself in devising or defending dubious theories of 'Lapse,' thereby enlarging the area of a sovereignty already perhaps overgrown, but will bethink himself rather of federalising on one harmonious system those native States which still remain; and converting them from what they may now perhaps be called—the *disjecta membra* of a bye-gone historical epoch—into hewn pillars in one consolidated edifice of empire. If ever this be done, then the share which should be assigned to each State in bearing the military burdens of the country may perhaps fall to be considered. At present we are in the position of a foreign power which is called upon to provide for

the military necessities of a vast empire, large portions of which yield us no direct revenue, owing to their being in the hands of rulers of their own. This circumstance, taken in conjunction with numerous features in the organization and administration of our own military and other establishments, may well help to account for the chronic deficits in the imperial treasury which serve from time to time to embarrass Finance ministers even of Sir R. Temple's calibre. But even if the shares contributed by the several native States to the maintenance of the military armaments of the country ever come to be re-adjusted, we are not sure that Hyderabad could be required to do much more in this way than it has already done ; or than was done for it at least by its good old friend the Company. Not only does the Nizam provide, as explained above, for the payment of a strong division of our Madras army, but the districts which were ceded by his ancestor for that purpose have, as usual, so flourished under British management, that their revenues are said to be largely in excess of the charge they were originally made over to us to meet. The surplus, of course, is absorbed in the coffers of the Presidency with which the districts themselves have been incorporated, namely, Madras : while as for the portion of the Madras army the cost of which has thus been taken off our hands, who can say that it has been *alienated* from us ; or that the telegraph and Suez Canal might not be put in requisition to move a portion of it to wherever it was required, in Europe or elsewhere, in the event of a possible *casus belli* looming on the Downing Street horizon ? In this respect, Hyderabad is but exposed to a danger which threatens India itself on a far more serious scale ; namely, the weakening on emergency of its protecting force. India under its Empress, it will be remembered, no longer claims the services even of those few battalions of localised European infantry which were maintained under the Company ; and which, when their brethren of the home establishment had been dispersed to China and Persia in 1856, did so much to break the first shock of the terrible tempest of the following year. In this view of the case, indeed, the Nizam's little principality may perhaps be considered better cared for than is the great Indian empire itself ; for even admitting that His Highness could not with any grace withhold his sanction to our withdrawing a portion of the Subsidiary Force in a season of imperial difficulty, he has yet another and purely local, British force of his own to fall back upon, namely, the Hyderabad Contingent. Originally this was known as the Nizam's Army. It was officered at first by European and Eurasian gentlemen holding Commissions only from the Nizam. But by degrees officers belonging to the Company's own army were lent to His

Highness, for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the force ; which thus gradually became not only a very soldier-like and favourite service, but a sweet morsel of patronage under the tongue of various high authorities. A standing order of the service required all Commandants of batteries and regiments to vacate their appointments on attaining the rank of Major. This prevented the little army from being selected, as it occasionally perhaps is now-a-days, by veterans with large families and more or less impaired vitality, as a quiet anchorage in which to "hold on," as a grim but expressive phrase describes it, "for their off-reckonings."* The regiments were commanded by men in the prime of life ; some of whom would have adorned any army. Indeed it is just possible that the high standard of efficiency presented by the Nizam's army, both in its original form, and afterwards as the Hyderabad Contingent, may have had something to do in recommending the idea of denuding the regiments of the whole native army of India of their proper and essential complement of European officers. Because the conditions of service under one of the principal Muhammadan princes of India, namely the Nizam, were such as to attract to his standards natives of means and of good family, who were allowed to join as Captains, or at all events as Lieutenants, of troops, it has apparently been argued that the rôle played in the Nizam's and other similar armies by native leaders of that stamp would equally be played by the worn-out old *Sûbadars* whom the adoption by us of the so-called irregular system has served to promote into the places hitherto held by officers of our own race and characteristics. The experiment thus instituted has yet to stand the test of time. With regard, however, to the Nizam's army, the fly in the pot of honey was this ; namely, His Highness was not always able to pay his soldiers. And as these included numerous officers of the Company's own armies, the Resident had often to take up the cudgels in their behalf. This led to unpleasant complications ; until at last Lord Dalhousie cut the knot after his own fashion, by calling upon the Nizam either to disband the brigade altogether, or make

* The effect of these same 'off-reckonings,' or 'Colonel's Allowances' on the minds of some Indian military officers of the present time was well illustrated by a story that went the round of last year's Camp of Exercise at Delhi. A veteran without employment had been impressed for the day, much to his disgust, as 'galloper,' or Orderly officer, to a Brigadier ; and attracted general

notice by the 'gingerly' pace he adopted when sent with an order. An irreverent A. D. C. was afterwards administering a little mild chaff to the senior on this subject ; when the latter replied, 'Ah, my boy, if you were as near your off-reckonings as I am, you would think twice before you galloped across ground like that !'

over to the British Government, not indeed in sovereignty or perpetuity, but merely in trust, as much territory as would yield every year the sum required for its payment. The ultimatum thus offered to the Nizam has been pretty generally regarded as one of the finest specimens of what is called Hobson's choice to be met with in the whole range of Indian history. However, it may be presumed His Highness winced at the second a trifle less than he did at the first horn of the dilemma; for we find him consenting in 1853, rather than disband his army, to make the required territorial assignment for its payment. The old name of Nizam's army was at the same time exchanged for that of Hyderabad Contingent; those officers who were not in the service of the Company were pensioned off, and the brigade became nominally, what it had long been in reality, an armament maintained by the Company at the expense of the Nizam for the defence of His Highness' country. In spite of one or two disadvantages, the Hyderabad Contingent has well sustained the military reputation of the Nizam's army of former days. Times are changed it is true. Bands of Rohilla free-lances are no longer apt to muster in the Hyderabad territory, sack a town or village, and suddenly disperse again, as was the fashion twenty or thirty years ago. Therefore the *boot and saddle* is sounded less frequently in the lines of the modern than of the ancient force; and it is just possible that both horses and riders may have grown a trifle thicker in the wind, and fuller of girth than they once were. But, on the whole, there has been improvement, not deterioration; and the distinguished service rendered by a portion of the brigade during the mutinies, when detached by the Resident of the day, the late Colonel Davidson, to strengthen the Central India column under Sir Hugh Rose, shows how fairly the Contingent also, and not merely the Subsidiary force, may be reckoned upon as a possible support to our own military resources in the time of need.

What with the Maol Ali races, weekly cricket-matches, frequent pic-nics to places of interest near the city, and plenty of snipe-shooting and coursing, our first cold season at Secunderabad passed only too quickly away: and it was the universal opinion of Her Majesty's —th regiment that India was a far better country than it was called. The Nizam's death happened very suddenly, just about the time now referred to. And though no delay occurred in declaring his infant son Mir Mahbub Ali Khan as his successor, yet the event led many of us to cast hankering glances at that 'chapter of accidents,' or 'force of circumstances,' which is said to have had so much to do with the up-building of our Indian empire. The armed demonstrations which the officer then in temporary command of the Subsidiary Force deemed appropriate

to the occasion imparted a charming fillip to us all; and an old Major, who had helped to sack Delhi and Lucknow, began about the same time to inquire in what part of the city the Nizam's treasures were kept. But every thing remained peaceful.

In due time the month of April ushered in the trying Indian hot season. Owing to a scanty rain-fall the previous autumn, the winds that year threatened to be hotter, and the temperature higher, than is usual at Secunderabad. The water also began to run low in the wells; and it was a bad look-out for the little collections of flowers in pots around our quarters; the probability being that they would all be dried up before the rains set in. Already the rocky plain on which the barracks stood bore as little resemblance to the green expanse it had presented when first we encamped on it, a few months before, as the great African desert does to the garden of Iran, or the vales of Cashmere. The first thing one saw in the morning, supposing him an early riser, was the sun gathered into a malignant looking red fire-ball on the horizon, preparatory to expanding himself for the day into a power and presence so intense and all-pervading as to leave one sensible or conscious, out-of-doors at least, of little else save him only. Even towards night, when his fire was quenched for a time, the earth seemed hot as a volcano; and, instead of cool breezes, a blue mist or haze—the condensed essence possibly of cholera or small-pox—would spring up and thicken all round the horizon, as if the heavens still hissed after the heating they had received. Blasts of hot dry wind ran riot all day long, now with clouds of dust, now with whirling columns of withered leaves stripped from the *pipal* trees; whose huge bare branches threw a weird dash of winter into the hot and glowing landscape. The seasons so jostle one another in India that it is hard to say when it is winter, when spring, and when autumn. Each tree and plant seems to keep its own seasons in fact. In a garden in the Deccan, the rose “pitches her golden throne,” as the Persian poets describe it, from one end of the year to the other; but of two rose-bushes on the same bed one perhaps will be blossoming when the other is hybernating. And then again the mango-tree is in the full glory of its dark green foliage, and maturing its delicious fruit, at the very time when many of its forest companions are shedding their leaves, and passing through their brief period of repose, that is, in March and April. But, on the whole, the hot weather seems to be to the vegetation of India what winter is to that of temperate climes; and the ample layer of withered leaves which then covers the surface of gardens and orchards acts like the snows of Europe in protecting the earth from the extreme of temperature, and affording a grateful shelter to the half-dead herbs and grasses.

Not till the rains begin to fall do these leaves decay ; and their elements are thus returned to the earth just at the time when nature's annual awakening makes their fertilizing effects most valuable.

In proportion as the reign of desolation closed in around our barracks did that of *ennui* and weariness commence within. The ladies must have found it even more tiresome than we did. Visit-posing, during the day at least, was suspended for the present. The regimental croquet-ground too was so dried up, and the air even after sunset was always so hot and unrefreshing, that this once favourite lounge gradually became deserted. We bachelors saw little either of the ladies, except during certain weary nights when private theatricals would be persisted in for their amusement, or of the married officers, except on parade, or at certain inevitable dinner-parties ; but, finding our several quarters waxing intolerably like bakers' ovens or heated brick-kilns, were fain to ensconce ourselves from morning till night, much in the style of a beleaguered garrison, in the mess-rooms ; where, with wet mattings in the door-ways, and a plentiful supply of cooling liquors always on tap, it was voted just possible to chase the lingering hours away. But how is it that our countrymen will not accept their happiness, even when it is permitted to them to be idle ? Labour being part of the curse pronounced on man, why is it that, when left without anything to do, he so generally becomes miserable ? *Desipere in loco* is sweet no doubt : and none have indulged in it more heartily than some of our hardest workers. But *semper desipere* sounds to those who have tried it, and who have anything in them at all, much like a sentence of solitary imprisonment for life. How many of our pursuits and sciences, and even of our very religions—how many more especially of what are termed the modern schools of thought—have been invented and cultivated merely to relieve men from the weariful pains of vacuity. Some, on seeing a fine day, will be seized with an irresistible impulse to 'go out and kill something ;' perhaps a lordly stag, or salmon ; perhaps only a hare, or even a few barn-rats—capital fun those last afford too when ferrets and terriers are up to their work. Possibly this *ardor venaticus* has its roots in the days when men were 'mighty hunters before the Lord,' and hunted that they might eat. But that it owes its continued force to the necessity we are under of staying the pangs not of hunger, but of idleness, seems more than probable. Others when without occupation will succumb under an *ardor* of a different kind, even the *cacoëthes scribendi*. How many, we would like to know, of those books (and articles too) of making of which there is said to be 'no end,' owe their existence to no other cause than a craving on their authors' part to do *something*, when there

is nothing very definite devolving on him to do. Burns' familiar lines are to the point :—

A country fellow at the plough,
His acres tilled, he's right enough ;
A country lassie at her wheel,
Her dizzens done, she's unco weel ;
But gentlemen, and ladies warst,
Wi' e'en down want o' work are curst ;
They loiter, lounging, lank, and lazy,
Though deil hae't ails them, yet uneasy ;
Their days insipid, dull, and tasteless.
Their nights unquiet, long, and restless."

To the curious adjustment by which leisure for work so frequently generates a craving for something to do must probably be credited a large portion of what is achieved in the course of every year by some of the world's most valuable workmen. But as for us, when the weary hot weather had reduced our duties to something like stagnation point, and cut us off from most of our ordinary pursuits and amusements, there was really nothing for it, except the old story to 'go out and shoot something.' Garrison schools of Instruction had not at that time been extended as has since been the case. Even if there had been one at our door, it would certainly have been closed, like everything else, for the hot weather ; while the Instructor himself was enjoying a well-earned holiday on the hills. Fortunately the surrounding country abounded in opportunities for the sportsman. A portion of the press has lately been trying to make out a case against Indian officialdom, on a charge of preserving the *Feræ Naturæ* of their districts for their own special delectation. Something of this kind might perhaps have been looked for at Hyderabad, if anywhere in India. Large tracts of country are there held by powerful nobles, any of whom might well have been a tiger preserver, either from hunting propensities of his own, or moved by a quiet hint from some political officer who was fond of the sport. But nothing of this kind has ever been known. On the contrary, the most willing and liberal assistance is afforded both by the British and native authorities to every one desirous of traversing the country in quest of big game. Elephants are lent to them by the Nizam's government, and fed at the expense of the State all the time they are thus employed. A money-reward is also paid for every beast of prey destroyed. Officers usually divide this among their followers, so that all may work with a will. A similar reward is equally claimable by the humblest village herdsman who has the luck some moonlight night, when watching beside a pool of water, to send a bullet from his matchlock through a tiger or panther as he comes to drink. A tiger that has thus been shot during

the night, and whose huge carcase is being brought in on a cart, for the sake of the reward, is an object occasionally met with in one's early morning rides in the environs of Hyderabad. The hot season, weary as it was in Cantonment, was the time of times, we found, for tiger-shooting. Water is then very scarce; and the beasts of the forest are much restricted to places near which it is to be found. Trees and shrub, too are nearly all shedding their foliage; so that thickets impervious to the eye at other seasons are then comparatively bare and open. In April or May, the hunter, if mounted on an elephant, can generally depend on seeing his game as soon as the latter can see him. In the months when the forest is green, on the other hand, the difficulty of marking down and getting a shot at a tiger is much increased by the denseness of the cover.

If your readers would care to be conducted with a party of sportsmen through a two-months' tiger campaign in the Nizam's country, doubtless there are pens now in India far more capable than the present writer's which would do so were a hint thrown out. As it is, who knows but the task might even have been attempted here, had not a small appointment chanced to devolve upon him and compel him to remain at head-quarters, just as the party which he was to have accompanied was about to set out. Tents and servants had been sent on a few marches in advance, our intention being to ride after them and catch them up. This modest instalment of my original programme I was still glad enough to have the enjoyment of; and a right merry party we formed as we started one morning considerably before day-break for our little encampment. This we found pitched in a magnificent mango-grove, which really seemed to afford a more ample shelter from the sun than did any of the houses we had been living in at Trimulgherry, notwithstanding that the latter had been erected by the Government Department of Public Works on the most approved plans. Traps to catch sunbeams were they at the best; and very uncomfortable cotenants the said sunbeams proved, as we had been experiencing to our cost. The shade of the mango-trees, on the other hand, seemed to have a wonderful power of excluding the heat and glare, while admitting every 'caller breeze' that stirred. Modest as we had thought our belongings, it was surprising what considerable dimensions the encampment presented. This was chiefly caused by the presence of the Government elephants and their attendants; and useful as the venerable pachyderms were subsequently, when game was on foot, they did yeoman's service even from the first, by lending to the party that modicum of prestige which compasses so many objects in eastern countries.

Very early the following morning, my companions continued

their way in high spirits towards the distant tiger-covers they were bound for; while I, tentless and alone, had to think only of posting back to barracks. Just then, my faithful friend and follower, Salah-ud-Din, stepped upon the patch of moon-light which surrounded the spot where I sat; and it was easy to see from his air that he had something great to tell. A remarkable fellow in his way was this Salah-ud-Din. The only son of a regimental Munshi, he had attached himself to me almost from the first day of my joining, as pertinaciously as if I had been a candidate for the Staff Corps, and therefore likely to be able some time or other to make a Rasaldar or a Deputy Collector of him, which I was not. As it was, the advantages of the intimacy lay nearly all with me: for I found him a far more pleasant teacher of his native languages than his old father the Munshi, who took snuff with an avidity not conducive to cleanliness, and had moreover a habit of chewing incessantly a mixture of unknown and nasty condiments. Salah-ud-Din's lessons were imparted rather secretly and reluctantly. A Moslem of Moslems, he insisted on the privilege claimed by every follower of the Prophet of being a *sipahi*, or soldier born; and all that one had to do to make him twirl his mustachios and scowl was to hint that a Munshi's son must needs be a Munshi too. His father, like many another wise men, had a foolish, albeit very strong-minded, wife. This good lady rejoiced in the name of Zubdat-ul-Nisa, or the 'cream of womankind'; and though living in a harem—if the term can be given to an area of fifty square yards, enclosed with walls of mud, and tenanted only by herself and a few domestics—ruled her husband as completely, and knew the affairs of her neighbours as thoroughly, as if she had dwelt on the top of the great mosque itself. Tracing her descent, to her own satisfaction at least, to Tipu Sultàn, the dream of her life was to see her son reviving the military associations thus created, instead of merely continuing the old paternal line of bookmen. Scholars she thought very little of indeed; and the first and last time her husband had ventured to try conclusions with her was when he had set his heart on introducing the hope of their house to some useful career. The opportunities of doing so which the Hyderabad government affords to its subjects are such as do it much credit. Apart from the military and civil services proper of the Nizam, which are supplied chiefly, by natives of the country itself, there is a Medical School, where numbers of youths of respectable families are educated up to a high standard of qualification as surgeons and doctors of medicine; also an Engineering College, which is designed to do for the young men of Hyderabad what the institution at Cooper's Hill is doing for those of our own country. But the 'cream of womankind,' like Rob Roy, looked down upon

engineers as "mere mechanical persons;" and upon doctors as even worse than Munshis: and so it was decreed that poor Salah-ud-Din should spend the golden years of his youth in flying kites from the housetop; breeding pigeons; swaggering about with his turban cocked on one side of his head, and a dagger or two in his belt; training fighting cocks; patronizing *râch* girls, as the glee-maidens or 'sweet-singers' of this country are termed, and in other similar pursuits which have been supposed to adorn the character of a gentleman in other quarters of the globe than the Deccan. Indeed his mother had objected even to his being taught to read; for her theory was that a man who knows he can master any subject he likes at any time, simply by referring to a book about it, will never take the trouble practically to inform himself about anything as he goes along! So far as this went, however, her views were not carried out, her son's naturally active mind having served to make a capital Persian scholar of him, in spite of all that could be said. The end of it all, alas, was this. By dint of much scheming, and after many an offering to her favourite saints, *Zubdat-ul-Nisâ* had compassed the lad's marriage into the family of a great man in the city of Hyderabad. More than a week had been spent in celebrating the event with entertainments and various forms of rejoicings; the inevitable effect of which would be to steep the poor old Munshi in debt and poverty for the remainder of his days. Just as all was supposed to be happily terminating with a display of fire-works on a grander scale than ever, a badly-made rocket sailed straight into the bridegroom's face, and injured him so that he died shortly afterwards.

Nothing had been seen of Salah-ud-Din during our sojourn of the day before in the mango-grove. He had ridden out with us to camp, and then disappeared; to display, as we thought, his handsome form, lithe Marhatta pony, and new leopard-skin boots to such admirers as might be forthcoming in the adjoining village. But whatever he may have been doing with himself, he had certainly picked up a bit of information which had eluded the inquiries of all the men who had been scouring that very piece of country to procure news of tiger for us during the better part of the last fortnight. The reticence displayed by a whole country-side in India is sometimes very remarkable. One would expect people to be only too glad to aid in destroying savage beasts which thin their herds, and often make the forest paths unsafe even for man himself. But just as the natives, as a rule, are reluctant to say anything of outrages which human robbers commit on their homesteads, for fear of suffering unknown evils at the hands of the police who would be sent to inquire into the case, so do they seem to hang back from bringing down parties of sportsmen on their neighbourhood, at all events

when such parties consist of gentlemen not personally known to them. Perhaps it is that they fear being compelled to leave their fields, and officiate for whole days as beaters, perhaps that they have a strong natural objection to their favourite heifers being carried off, even on payment, and tied up at nightfall in the open, to act as lures to the tiger. But whatever the explanation may be, the fact of their reluctance to help is often illustrated. The present was a case in point; and it equally served to show how difficult it is to obtain intelligence in India, when the people who are in possession of it would prefer its not reaching our ears. Our own paid scouts had been roaming the country for days without learning what Salah-ud-Din became acquainted with before he had eaten his first meal in the village; namely, that a tigress and cubs had their lair among the ravines of an adjoining hill. He never would have heard a word about it if his connection with the party of sportsmen whose tents whitened the neighbouring clump of trees had been known. But being taken merely for a passing traveller, he soon found out that the bloody deeds of the tigress were on the tongue of every old man and maiden when they met at the village well. Day was now breaking fast: and the accuracy of Salah-ud-Din's information could not be doubted when he led the way to a patch of jungle only a couple of miles off, where the half-eaten carcase of a huge grey boar was lying. It was plain there had been a terrible fight between the boar and the tigress; for the ground showed marks of a scuffle for yards on every side. The tigress had made but one repast on her conquered foe; and several jackals stole off with a rustling noise through the long dry yellow grass as we approached the carrion. It seemed, too, as if all the vultures of the Deccan were on the move. Numbers of them were already sweeping in long steady circles round and round the spot; while others kept arriving from the four quarters of the heavens. The formidable dimensions of the pair of tusks which projected like sword-blades full six inches out of the grizzly monster's jaw made it easy to believe what a herdsman told us, namely, that the tigress herself had received a proper crippling in the fray. She was said to have been barely able, the previous afternoon, to drag herself from her lair to the pool where she had gone to drink, so deeply had her flanks been ripped. Here was a strange adventure! Had Salah-ud-Din's own proper engagements in the village the day before only admitted of his bringing us this intelligence a little earlier, it would indeed have been welcome. Even now, a messenger could easily have been found to re-call the sportsmen who had gone on. But their hopes pointed so brightly to the rarely visited districts

they were making for, that it seemed doubtful whether they would care to return. As for myself, besides being the merest novice in Indian woodcraft, I hadn't so much as a gun with me, and was due moreover at the orderly room that very forenoon. There was no course for it therefore but to mount and away; leaving Salah-ud-Din on the spot to serve as a kind of sentinel over the tigress. During a thirty-mile ride into Cantonment there was time enough to revolve the ways and means of bagging her. One idea was to return at nightfall, and taking post on a tree or boulder near the carcase of the boar, lie in wait, rifle in hand, till she came to renew her feast. This plan is not generally a dangerous one, as far as risk of attack from the quarry is concerned; though the sportsman is apt to fall asleep and drop from his perch. More frequently a terrified gun-bearer or other attendant, by coughing or moving just at the time when silence is most imperative, gives warning to the tiger, and so defeats the object of the watch. But at best this seemed a very poaching style of setting to work. Ere evening too news came in, first that the remnants of the boar had been carried off bodily by the village leather-dressers, to whom roast pork was a *bon-bouche* even when killed by a wild beast; and then that the tigress herself had shifted her quarters, and gone into hospital, as it were, in some fastness not as yet discoverable. For several days the bulletins all ran to the same purport. The tigress had either moved off to a different locality altogether, or had grown so cowed by the injuries inflicted on her by the boar that she had gone in for a little fasting and seclusion. She could hardly have died without the vultures revealing the spot where she lay; and as she was scarcely likely to have migrated while her wounds were still fresh, I was quite prepared for the news sent in after a few days, to the effect that she was falling as briskly as ever again on the cows and young buffaloes of the surrounding hamlets. There was no need therefore to resort to the expedient which is necessary when the presence of a tiger in any particular locality is merely suspected, and his whereabouts is unknown, namely, to tether some poor calf or goat overnight near his supposed haunts, so as to lure him into betraying his existence by a kill. In this case the kills were being made to our hand almost every day, and it only remained to take the field. For all but the hardiest and most experienced sportsmen, to stalk tigers on foot is to court nearly certain death. The game may be carried on for a long time it is true; but sooner or later the end is pretty sure to come. Tigers are of diverse moods and tempers, as are men. There is the man-eater, who "smelleth the battle afar off," and comes on with a roar as of victory, the moment he spies his foe. And there is the arrant coward or cur, which, even after a

couple of bullets have played thud on his ribs or scapula, has no pluck for a charge. But, generally speaking, the tiger that has been wounded will charge home with appalling effect. Two or three stout-hearted sportsmen, standing shoulder to shoulder, may, and do, doubtless, even then very often set all the brute's fury and agility at defiance, and lay him dead at their feet, perhaps just at the moment when the first puff of his hot and carrion-tainted breath has come surging against the face of his destined victim. But when the sportsman is alone, or attended only by a native gun-bearer—though these are often very staunch—the chances against him and in favour of the tiger are enormously increased, no matter how iron his nerve and unerring his aim. Even supposing him to have met the monster foot to foot, and sent him roaring back among the dense brushwood, with a Jacob's shell exploded somewhere among his muscles, the crowning peril has yet to be faced, in following him up through the tangled labyrinth of jungle. This is often so thick, that at the very moment when one may be concluding that his prey, if hit at all, must have made good his retreat, he may in reality be crouching less than ten yards off, and poising himself for his last and fatal spring. Some of the best Deccan sportsmen deliver their first attack on foot, and then finish the business from the back of an elephant. This greatly lessens the risk of accident; though it must always be held a source of danger for any one to walk up to and fire at a tiger. Doing the work on foot affords a fine test and exercise, no doubt, of some of manhood's rarest powers. But when those powers are plainly undeveloped, or have grown rusty from disuse, the attempt seems mere fool-hardiness, such as savours of ignorance rather than of true courage.

A couple of elephants were easily procured and sent out to the care of Salah-ud-Din. One of them was but a baggage-animal, and looked old and wicked enough to have carried the Patriarch Job. The other was a female called *Chalan-piari*, or 'she of the delectable paces.' There is as much difference among elephants as among horses in this matter of paces. A day's journey on a rough elephant is a punishment adequate for any minor offence. A sweet-paced one like *Chalan-piari* bowls over the ground both smoothly and smartly. Very commonly too the rougher an elephant's paces the slower his speed, so that the duration of the penance is in the ratio of its severity.

The scene of action could be easily reached by following for a certain distance a tolerable highway over which Her Majesty's mails were then conveyed between Hyderabad and the nearest point on the line of railway. For this special service a primitive kind of mail-cart was maintained; a mere box rudely fastened to a couple of wheels, and drawn by a single horse or pony. The

native who drove the cart was the only human burden which it was designed to carry ; but there was room beside him for one passenger, provided the latter wasn't a stout one. Such are the attractions of rapid locomotion, even when it is a case almost of '*cita mors venit, aut victoria læta*,' that travellers of the hardier kind, when passing between Hyderabad and the distant railway station, were fain to pay their £5 for the privilege of being half-flayed by the sun, and bumped and excoriated all over, during a two hundred mile ride on the mail-cart, instead of taking the more luxurious though far slower conveyance which was provided for passenger traffic, and which consisted of a bullock-coach not unlike a small covered four-poster set on wheels. All this is changed now. Like many better conveyances, the mail-carts, bullock-coaches, roadsters, riding-camels, and palanquins of the Nizam's capital have all been fairly knocked off the road by a railway which at last connects that city with the rest of the world. This has been constructed entirely at the expense of the native Government, to which of course it is considered to belong. It is managed by ourselves though for all that, exactly as if it were our own. In the case of a country like India, there is this drawback to railway-travelling, that it gives us but small opportunities of increasing our scanty knowledge of the people. Every country has its pulse, if we could but succeed in laying the finger on it. India has many pulses, beating very varied measures, and telling sometimes of tranquillity and plenty, but oftener, it is to be feared, of famine, mutiny, and insurrection, or even possibly of some mighty crusade, before which, if only it could be developed, the foreigner must go down like flax before the fire. Few had a better chance of feeling those pulsations and reading those signs, than the traveller of former days ; who, in covering every hundred miles, would pitch his tent beside at least half-a-dozen separate towns or villages, halting for a day or two among their people, mingling with and learning something from all. But in these times a man may traverse the length and breadth of India by rail without gleaning much information about the tracts passed through, save that they are all alike uncomfortably warm, and that the table is well-served or ill in this railway refreshment-room or that ! The very mishaps and adventures of the old modes of travelling—the broken coach, or mutinous palanquin-bearers, or foundered nag—served to throw one on the people in ways productive of good-feeling at the time, and kindly memories ever afterwards. But as for a railway accident, when that occurs, we all know there is small real help for the sufferers till a special train arrives on the spot, charged with a flying brigade from the nearest college of surgeons, whose kindly offices with amputating saw and trephine hardly belong to that class of experiences which

like Æneas and his companions, we shall one day love to look back upon. In 1869, however, the Hyderabad mail-cart was still on the road, and started from the Secunderabad post office at seven o'clock every morning. A frail thing it certainly seemed to take one's seat upon ; but it was better than it looked. Nothing could be less like a mail-coachman than the wiry sprawling "brown brother" by whose side the adventurous traveller would find himself seated on jumping on the cart. But the fellow knew his business for all that : and queer as he would have looked and felt behind a team of English posters, the best coachman in England would have felt equally at fault had he been set to take the Hyderabad mail-cart its first forty miles towards Sholapur, with a whip that worked on the flail principle, and harness much eked out with rope or string. Each animal that was put to seemed to have a peculiar nature of its own, the ins-and-outs of which had evidently been stored in the memory of the driver. One needed only a jerk of the bit to start him like a race-horse, and would stop dead if he felt the whip. Another had to be dragged along the first few hundred yards by means of a haul-rope hitched round one of his fore-pasterns. With this old screw again—a scarred Rosinante from the ranks of the Horse Artillery—it was this simple programme, to keep at him with the flail from start to finish ; the only difficulty being that whenever the driver had to sound his bugle, in order to clear the way, the intelligent quadruped would rightly judge that whip and bugle could not be plied at one and the same time, and so would come to a sudden halt. His successor perhaps would be a varmint Deccan pony, with this as his idiosyncrasy, that if he was allowed to walk for a bit, and humoured with a stinger from the double-thong just on gaining a certain bridge or tree, off he would dart, and slack not his speed for bog or brae till his stage was done. The heat grew intense as the forenoon wore on. It was like riding by the side of Phoebus Apollo in the very chariot of the sun. The pace was good enough, or at all events the motion violent enough, to serve the illusion ; and occasionally a cloud of sand, scourged by the wind into the form of a whirling pyramid, would race yard for yard alongside of the car, until a fresh gust from some other quarter would drive its scorching particles right into our faces. As long as the motion continued, all this was bearable enough, with the help of a wet sheet hung loosely round the face and body. This mitigated the heat of the wind, and, rapidly drying, produced a sensible effect on the temperature at the same time. But as often as a stoppage occurred at one of the wayside hovels where the relays were kept, the current of life itself seemed to come suddenly to a stand-still along with the cart ; and the sensation on the whole was as if we had pulled up at the

main entrance of Tartarus. Owing to an accident caused by the horse on one occasion shying at a bridge, and diving headlong into the ravine below, it was nearly noon ere the spot was reached where a pony was waiting under Salah-ud-Din's care to carry me across country the rest of the way. A short ride brought us to the mango-grove where our camp of a few days before had stood. No tent had been sent out this time; and the only shelter obtainable, besides that of the trees themselves, was such as was to be found on the lee-side of a curious piece of parti-coloured wall standing all alone on the margin of the grove. This was one of those open-air places of worship called *Eedgahs* which the Muhammadans love to rear in the environs of every town or village where they dwell. Dressed in their best clothes, they congregate round them in multitudes on certain religious feast-days or holidays; unite together in religious exercises; and then disperse to their ordinary avocations. Unlike the *Masjid*, or mosque, the *Eedgah* presents but limited room for the display of architectural richness or beauty, further than being pointed at the top, like a Gothic arch, and surmounted with minarets. It varies in size and character according to the means of the communities erecting it. But its design is commonly the same; namely, a roofless wall pointing silently heaven-ward in the solitary place, like a finger held up by Nature's own self to raise men's thoughts to spiritual things.

Salah-ud-Din's budget of news was of a mixed kind. There was no doubt about the tigress. A calf which had been picqueted out the evening before as a bait, had been pounced upon and half-eaten during the night. But it had turned out to be a myth about the cubs; or at all events if they had ever existed at all, which was doubtful, the villagers had managed to dispose of them. Worst of all, *Chalan Piari* had been suddenly seized with illness of some kind, and was unfit to be moved from her picquets. This reduced us to the old baggager, of whose manners in the presence of a tiger there were different accounts. There being no help for it, however, the *howdah* was bound on his back, the *mahout*, or keeper, took his proper post astride his neck, with a toe bearing on the root of each ear, while Salah-ud-Din and myself climbed into our places, and set off to commence our beat. Well in advance of the elephant ran a few pre-historic specimens of humanity, who had volunteered their services; sable aborigines and born hunters, to whom might almost be applied the designation of 'wild men of the woods.' These belonged to certain tribes which still linger in the more mountainous parts of India; having had to give way step by step before the numerous ethnological waves that have swept over the country since their time. In Central India they are known

as Gonds; in Western India as Bhils; and in the Nizam's territory chiefly as Kulis. All present the common characteristics of extremely dark skins, an absence of clothing such as would edify Carlyle, spare frames, and marvellous powers of endurance. They are evidently children of the soil. The Muhammadans, and even large classes of the Hindus, seek as naturally as we do for some protection, at all events for the head, when exposed to the sun's rays. Not so the *Kuli*, whose closely-shaven crown is to be seen glistening in the sun like a ball of burnished iron or ebony on the very hottest days of summer. Our *Kulis* were armed with iron spears and hatchets; also with a few matchlocks of uncouth construction. Their leader's full length portrait would form a telling frontispiece for Darwin's next lucubration. In his way he was a hero. A scar under one eye and down his cheek and breast still told of a hand to hand contest with a panther, in which he had come off victorious with only his own rude weapons to aid him. Few Europeans would have recovered, after receiving such a mauling as he had. A blithe rollicking little savage he was; without a pound of spare flesh for wild beast to lay hold of him by. The end of his scanty loin-cloth formed behind no bad substitute for a small scut or tail; and indeed he wanted only a pair of horns to make him resemble a veritable silvan imp or satyr, as he bounded through the wilds, with his sandals in one hand, and a long matchlock in the other. A body of foot composed of very different materials from the *Kulis* brought up the rear, namely, a lot of unwilling villagers, who had been mustered as beaters, and whose only thought was how to secure their day's wages without incurring too much danger. They carried drums, horns, and other discord-making articles, with which to urge a dogged tiger into facing his last enemy, man. The country became thicker and thicker as we proceeded; and presented exactly the appearance which sportsmen describe by the term *tigerish*. At last a number of dingy specks were seen flitting about among the clouds on the far horizon, just over a range of low hills. These were the vultures, whose presence surely marked the spot where the kill had occurred, and close to which in all probability the sated tigress was now sleeping off the effects of her meal. Between us and the hills, there stretched a perfect sea of low cocoanut palm-jungle, broken in some places by piles of gray boulders, in others by clumps of forest trees. After some time it was necessary to dismount from the elephant, and leave him with the beaters in a concealed spot, lest the tigress should see him from her lair, and steal away into the boundless jungle which skirted the hills on the further side. After a good deal of scrambling, we found ourselves in a broad and tolerably open water-course or ravine which lay at the base

of the hills. Nim-trees and clusters of custard-apple bushes, interspersed with boulders, occupied the bottom of the ravine; and thanks to their shade several pools of rain-water were still standing among the rocks. Close to one of these, a tiger had evidently been rolling and disporting itself quite recently. Not only were the foot-prints visible on the wet gravel, but tufts or flakes of the beast's hair still adhered in several places to the stones. Beside a small copse of thorns lay the remains of the poor calf. The tigress had charged it with such *elan* that the rope with which the creature had been tied by the neck to a tree had snapped in two, and the bait had been dragged to some distance. A couple of *Kuli* scouts who had been watching the spot from their perch on the trees now crept cautiously up to us, and pointed with bated breath but much energy of gesticulation to a chaos of boulders, almost opposite where we stood, as the very penetralia of the tigress. To drive her from her fastness, and turn her into the ravine was obviously the game to play, and a difficult one too, since the whole hill consisted of rocks piled upon rocks, and forming natural galleries or tunnels, which it was easy to guess had their outlets on both sides of the range. Bringing up the elephant again, and taking post on his back behind the shelter of a rock as big as a barn which pretty well commanded the ravine, we sent the beaters by a long detour into the jungle on the further side of the hills, with orders to beat through it towards our ambushade. After a time the first notes of their discord rose on the breeze—though yet perhaps a couple of miles off. Presently deer and antelope began to flit past us; and every little hare that ran in its fright almost against the elephant's feet made the heart go pit-a-pat. Most of the *Kulis* were with the beaters. Others, all expectancy, had climbed upon trees, ready to signal to us the moment the tigress stirred. But alas, the din of the drums and horns, mingled with the shouts of the beaters themselves, was coming nearer and nearer; and as yet the only thing that had moved on the face of the hill was a beautiful little white owl, which had once or twice flown dreamily out of its cavern, only to flit back again, after sending the heart towards the mouth, and the fore-finger towards the trigger. At last the beaters, making the welkin ring again with their voices, fairly reached and topped the crest of the hill; and the old elephant, who had till now stood steady as a mummy, began to thrill and vibrate with excitement when he caught sight of them swarming like skirmishers down our side of the ravine. Evidently the tigress had either stolen away, or, knowing the advantages of a good position, was bent on keeping it. A few rude fireworks were sent whizzing into the interior of the hill, with-

out dislodging anything more formidable than our friend the little white owl. The beat had failed, and there was nothing for it but to draw off our forces and retire. With five or six elephants and a legion of beaters, something might still have been done. But even the few beaters we had were now whining for their day's wage, and in fact beginning to disappear without it, rather than run the risk of a fresh beat being ordered.

Less than a mile off, was a fine natural well. What with the shade of an enormous banian-tree, the roots of which embraced it on every side, and a dense copse of bamboos in which it was imbedded, the 'fell season of the burning dog-star'* assailed it in vain. A favourite spot it was among the rustics for miles around, to resort to for their mid-day siesta, along with their bullocks wearied with the plough. This, however, had been put a stop to for the time by the dangerous proximity of the tigress; and on our making for the spot, and dismounting to rest, no one was found in possession except an old Hindu, who had charge of a few tobacco-fields irrigated from the well. Here the grievous discovery was made that the luncheon-basket had been left behind at the *Eedgah*, a trying enough mishap in most circumstances, but doubly so after a long ride on an Indian mail-cart in April, and a beat for tiger during the hottest hours of the day. As luck would have it, the water in the well was excellent, and not only that, but when a gourd was let down to fetch up a draught of it, out flew a number of blue pigeons which had built their nests on the sides of the well. The next time the gourd was lowered, Salah-ud-Din took post a short distance off, with a double-barrelled gun at his shoulder, and, pigeons flying out as before, his right and left brought down as many as yielded us an excellent meal. So fat were they as to seem, when roasted, as if they had been well larded with butter. Blessings on the Deccan well, which thus afforded to two wearied sportsmen a capital luncheon of roast pigeon, in addition to its own proper supplies! Fish too it could have yielded, had we asked it; for peering into its depths we saw numbers of fine *murrel*—the Indian carp—swimming placidly in the water. The fountain of Bandusia never did so much, we'll be bound, for Horace; who yet offered up a kid in its honour, besides 'marrying it to immortal numbers,' and making it famous for ever among fountains. The shooting of the pigeons had greatly disquieted the soul of the old Hindu. But when he saw how hungry we were, his grim features relaxed; and we were able with his help to concoct for ourselves a refreshing drink in the form of a mixture of milk and water, with half a tea-spoonful of salt added. Physic! we think we hear

* "Flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ." Hor.

some one exclaim, whose flask of *eau-de-vie* is his constant companion when out shooting. And yet it is certain that for hard work under a burning sun, stimulants do more harm than good. When the shades of night have fallen on the tents, and the sportsmen's table is spread under the 'pale, pale moon,' and the time has come, in the words of the grand old Indian hunting-song,

"To tell of the chases we have shared.
And the tusks that we have won,"

then pour if you will your libations to the rosy god. But when the sun is in the heavens, and the rifle or the hog-spear in the hunter's hand, the oftener a man applies himself to his flask the flabbier and thirstier will he grow.

By this time the afternoon was fast verging towards evening. Looked at from our depth of shade, the whole jungle seemed literally bathed in floods of sunshine. And yet the fresh life which began to stir among the four-footed and feathered inhabitants of the glorious foliage round about us, showed that the heat of the day was nearly over. If only a muster-roll had been made of all the living things that that foliage gave shelter to, its length would surely have astonished one. The very ground was alive with troops of large and small ants, whose movements bore a ludicrous resemblance to those of mightier hosts, as they defiled and deployed round about us. The carcase of a black scorpion, happily killed by us at the mouth of his hole, just when on the point of sitting down upon him, kept their legions in a fine ferment, in their efforts to drag it away to the common larder; until in an evil moment a crow cast his eye on the prize, and pounced upon it with a sarcastic caw. The trunk of the banian-tree again seemed to be the special hunting-ground of a couple of hideous but harmless lizards—alligators in miniature—whose colour was so exactly that of the bark that only their uplifted heads and scarlet crests distinguished them from it. In fine contrast with the Fabian tactics, or 'masterly inactivity' of the lizards, was the Light Infantry style in which numerous pairs of gray squirrels kept glancing hither and thither, now chasing one another in amorous dalliance among the branches, now making rapid excursions along the ground in quest of some tiny seed, or grain of corn. A colony of monkeys lived among the bamboos. But these, for reasons of their own, 'retired within themselves,' as philosophers call it, the moment they saw us, as completely as if they had been Cockneys whom we had met at a *table d'hôte* abroad. Perhaps their prejudices had been offended by the shooting of the pigeons. At all events they declined to fraternise. The birds had been lying hushed all the afternoon under the extreme heat, with the exception only of the mango-bird, who had been making his

harsh and monotonous note resound over the plain so incessantly that we longed to pepper him. The fierier the atmosphere, the louder his call. From one end of the dog-days to the other, when mangoes are ripening, and the air is a-glow with heat, his is the loudest of all nature's many voices. Hence, as may be imagined, he is no favorite, among our countrymen at least. Now, however, there seemed to be a general awaking among the feathered tribes; and the whole air was soon filled with their voices, more especially those of different varieties of doves. The little tin flageolets of the herd-boys too began to make a quiet and pleasing music of their own on every side, as the goats and cattle that had been browsing all day in the jungle were being driven home a good deal earlier than usual for fear of the tigress. All these were signs that we had lingered long enough where we were, unless we intended spending the night there; so mustering the *Kulis*, who had hovered all the time within call, we set off on the homeward track. Our course lay across the jungle which the beaters had traversed with their drums only a few hours before. We had just entered it, when a brace of peacocks, first one, then the other, started with a whirring sound almost under the elephant's feet. The next moment, a rush among the *Kulis* warned us that the tigress herself was on foot. A magnificent animal she was, long and gaunt, but royal-looking every inch; with her blood-red chaps wide open, and flecked with foam; and her brightly-marked skin flashing back the evening sun—truly a

“Fierce thing, replete with too much rage.”

Her panting sides and protruded tongue showed that she had been travelling; and as her head when first seen was pointed towards the very rocks we had at first tried to dislodge her from, it was probable she had been disturbed by the beaters in the first instance; had managed then to steal away unperceived to some distant cover, and was now returning to her lair. But, however this may have been, she changed her course the moment she saw us; and was only occasionally visible indeed, as she held straight away from us through the jungle. A strange frenzy seemed to take possession of the elephant, the moment his cunning little eye caught a glance of her; and the *howdah* rose and fell with his ungainly motions, like a boat on an angry loch, as he rushed headlong in her wake. In spite of all that could be done by the *mahout*, he kept plunging along, making it impossible for any one in the *howdah* to raise a rifle to the shoulder, far less take aim. Had we known the brute's history, we might have been contented to let him try, like the Frenchman and the fox, to catch the tigress himself. From once having been severely punished by a wounded tiger, which he had finally succeeded in pounding to

death with his feet, he had contracted, it appeared, quite a rage for single combats, and never missed an opportunity of closing with a tiger tooth and nail. This was what had led to his being degraded to the rank of a baggager, for in point of courage he was all that could be desired. Having no idea, however, what his tactics were, save that he was bidding fair to jolt us out of the *howdah*, and thinking a random shot better than no shot at all, we opened fire without attempting to take aim. One of our shells chanced to strike and explode against a rock she happened to be passing at the time. In a moment she seemed to realise the position; and replying with a hoarse roar to the crack of the rifle, looked unutterable things at us for a moment, then quickened her pace, and was seen no more. As for the elephant, his tantrums subsided as soon as his mortal enemy was out of his sight; and he became quite *douce* again and obedient to his keeper. But he was evidently not to be trusted; so dismounting from his back, and using him only as a beater, we explored the jungle on foot, till it was too dark to tell the difference between a tigress and a ghost. Vain was all our labour; and there was nothing for it but to distribute a supply of powder and bullets among the *Kulis*, wish them and their matchlocks better luck than our's, and return with all haste to Secunderabad.

ART. II.—BRITISH BURMAH IN 1874-1875.

*Report on the Administration of British Burmah in the Year 1874-5.**

IT would be hard to estimate the precise amount of influence Government is capable of exercising by the many coloured miscellanies which annually emerge from our Indian Secretariats. They constitute a literature quite unique of its kind, and one which latterly has attained a scope and significance that could never have been contemplated by its originators. Professedly they are reports of an entirely official character submitted to the Supreme Government by its chief subordinate authorities on the various subjects incidental to their special or local administration. They thus include every conceivable variety of topic, from the last frontier war to the cultivation of cinnamon and cinchona. So long as their distribution was confined to a few desultory heads of departments, it was obvious that ordinary opinion could be little influenced or interfered with. Of late years, however, the strength and serviceability of such an instrument has been partially realised. "By authority" publications are annually increasing both in number and circulation; and it is not difficult to prognosticate that, sooner or later, they will supplant independent investigation and become the sole agencies for the propounding and expounding of all large political facts. With this great machinery in perfect gear it is plain what control the executive will possess over the expression and direction of public sentiment. The supply and arrangement of premisses being in its hands, all that is required is some acquaintance with the rules of inductive ratiocination. Given the postulates, our Indian policy ought ever to be inexpugnable.

It would be out of place to discuss the desirability of such a consummation; there can be little doubt it would be vastly accelerated were Government inclined to adopt thoroughly and consistently its new rôle of Public Intelligencer, and pay some attention to the style and general attractiveness of its feuilletons. The authors of these for the most part ignore the change of auditory and environment, and maintain the ordinary etiolated style of dull officialism, as if they were still addressing a few one-ideal gentlemen at Calcutta and not the whole vast Indian public. Their productions consist generally of a formless, tuneless mass of facts and figures, where everything is sacrificed in deference to a few arbitrary canons of classification and conciseness. Lord Lytton

* Rangoon : Printed at the Government Press.

though he would scarcely expect to find any of his "passion of purple and glory of gold" infused into the pages of a parliamentary return, would be achieving a vast æsthetic reform were he to endeavour to render departmental publications something other than a mere congeries of crude uncomely facts, harsh and unalluring to ordinary readers as

Stony names

Of shale and hornblende, rag and trap and tuff
Amygdaloid and trachyte.

Parmi les torticoles je passe pour le plus joli, and the British Burmah Secretariat has always favourably contrasted with its continental congeners. Even here, however, we find manifestations of that strange tendency to synoptical returns, instead of ordinary exegesis, which was perhaps the most peculiar characteristic of the late régime. Lord Northbrook's ideal of the highest scientific faculty appeared to consist in the compilation of a *catalogue raisonnée*; and with him the acme of educational effort was attained when the *omne scibile* could be comprised in a tabulated schedule. In the report before us it is somewhat curious to remark where this passion for condensation has landed the writer. In accordance with the requirements of the Supreme Government, it is supposed to be "a survey of the moral and material movement of the country as marked by the events and measures of the year.†" It comprehends and summarizes the various departmental reports which have appeared at intervals during the last twelve months to solace and arride those interested in the province. These reports are compiled from the divisional or district returns which are themselves an abridgement of information supplied by inferior authorities. It is somewhat of an analectic achievement to comprise within 200 pages a whole year's history of a nation's life and environment; but with this *a fait accompli*, it is surely unnecessary to attempt in the preface a further epitome, which occasionally results in sheer surplusage of repetition.

There is little else to criticise in the language or arrangement of the pamphlet, which is couched in terse idiomatic English, refreshing to read after the wearisome exuberance of continental annals. The author is especially happy in the skill

To hint a fault and hesitate dislike:

perhaps the rarest accomplishment of a Secretary, when combined (as it is in this instance) with the power to bestow a sturdy buffet on a case-hardened or too obtrusive delinquent.

British Burmah, as a geographical expression, dates from the year; 1862 when Lord Dalhousie, in pursuance of the same

† A commendable caution is shown the character of the movement.
in not to specifying too particularly

massive policy which rough-hewed Oudh and the Central Provinces, welded the three divisions of Tenasserim, Arracan, and Pegu into a Chief Commissionership for Sir Arthur Phayre. Previous to this, the two former had been separately administered under the Bengal Government; whose unwieldy bulk stretched over Assam and across the Arracan and Pegu Yomas up to the Sittoung and Salween watershed, with the Irrawaddy delta as yet unconquered intervening between the two ranges. On the annexation of Pegu, however, our possession had become sufficiently homogeneous and compact to be formed into a province, stretching conterminous with the sea, about 1000 miles in length and 100 in breadth. The three original divisions have been maintained with but one modification, which accounts for their discrepancy in territorial extent.

It is curious to contrast the comparative insignificance of the role the Golden Chersonese has played in the earth's history with that of the other two great Asian peninsulas. Each is the home and stronghold of a colossal creed, but while Arabia and India are indissolubly connected with the chronicle of modern civilization, the Eastern region has remained self-centred and unknown, the battle-ground and grave of strange kingdoms and races, who appear and disappear with scarcely an echo from their existence drifting into the outer world. We are as yet wholly ignorant of the origin and condition of the multifarious peoples who inhabit the Malacca peninsula. We may broadly affirm that they emerged, at some far epoch, from the plateau of Central Asia through the various gorges of the Himalayas; we may assume their possession of certain types and features in common, and group them together under the convenient title of Indo-Chinese, but the period and order of their migrations, of the character and formation of these presumptive linguistic and social resemblances, are points which yet remain to be elucidated. The ethnographer who turned his attention to this fruitful field of exploration would be puzzled at the outset to determine its stage of national life and development. The ruins of Angkor and Vatphou, of Pagan and Tagoung would seem to hint at whole centuries of culture and dominion; on the other hand the extraordinary progress which the Western province is making under foreign laws and foreign ascendancy, contrasting so strongly with the prevailing notions of oriental decrepitude, would almost justify Ritter's opinion,* that the Burmese have scarcely emerged from barbarism, and would argue a vigour and virility of nearly American proportions. The great difficulty in the way of historical research is the comparative absence of any thing in the shape of trustworthy material. Confining our view to the

* Erdkunde, v. p. 171.

valleys of the four great rivers, the Kaladan, Irawaddy, Sittoung and Salween, a dry list of proper names furnished by Ptolemy, which succeeding commentators have contorted into vocables more or less resembling Burmese appellations, is all we find till the time of Marco Polo, towards the close of the 13th century. His information also is scanty and indeterminate. We then read of a succession of Italian voyagers and Portuguese adventurers, till the visit of the Venetian merchant Cæsar Frederick in 1564, who tells as of a "Brama of Toungoo far excelling the Grand Turk in "treasure and strength; with 26 crowned heads at his command "and a million and a half of fighting men." Fitch, a London trader who followed twenty years later, being the first Englishman who ever visited the country, is similarly enthusiastic, as indeed are all the travellers of the period, in describing the wealth and magnificence of the Taleing kingdom of the 16th century.* Its swift and sheer destruction is quite without precedent in ancient or modern times. Eleven years after Fitch's visit we hear of its decay; and a few years later, Purchas speaks of the Peguans as a race being half extinct. During the 17th century the very name has almost disappeared, the period being occupied with the personal adventures of Portuguese condottiers and the gradual growth and coherence of the Avan empire. In the 18th century, however, the Taleing supremacy was momentarily reasserted, to be finally crushed in 1753 by the resistless arm of Aloungpayah the hunter King. From the accession of this monarch the sequence of events has been tolerably ascertained. The East India Company was established in 1599, and 20 years afterwards an attempt was made to open trade with Burmah through Siam. The immediate result was not successful, but subsequently we hear of Dutch and English factories at Syriam, Prome, and Ava, and even so far north as Bhaman. They had all vanished however within the next fifty years, and the first English mission was sent from Madras in 1695 with the object of re-settling the first of these places. We have neither the space nor the inclination to dwell on the long series of huckstering embassies which followed this discreditable precedent. The sole redeeming point is, that our envoys found time amidst their daily modicum of indignity to give us some account of their tormentors, but the journals of Burney and Cox and Symes or even of Crawford himself scarcely compensate for a century of English shame.

It might be conjectured that some light would be thrown on the events of earlier years from native oral and documentary

* We can make some allowance for the extravagance of diction when Colonel Symes himself, who was our resident at Ava in 1794, talks of Burmah as a magnificent and civilized empire with a population of 17 millions.

traditions, especially when it is remembered that here, as in most Indo-Chinese countries, there exists a series of court chronicles compiled by Royal authority, and carrying back a line of Burman rulers in unbroken succession to the Sakya Prince of Abhirajah Bor, of the family of Gautama the divine, who long ages ago emigrated with his followers to Ava. * They are described as consisting of an interminable catalogue of Kings, interspersed with mythical episodes, of which white elephants and magic weapons form the most conspicuous features. The customs of altering the national era and changing the metropolis, which every fourth-rate monarch indulged in, seem to be the only trustworthy events of any importance which distinguished the reigns of the former rulers. It must be acknowledged, however, that these records have never been subjected to any scientific investigation. Comparative criticism of their contents with Taleing and Shan contemporaneous MSS., would probably lay the foundation of a solid and unassailable fabric of early Burmese history; and it hardly speaks well for antiquarian enterprise that this vast store of valuable information should hitherto have been neglected, and such inconsiderable endeavours made to fill a yawning chasm in the annals of our province. In the preface to the administration report for 1869-70, we find summarised into a sufficiently readable narrative, the account furnished by a Portuguese nobleman of the adventures of his filibustering countrymen in the Malacca peninsula during the 16th and early part of the 17th century; the writer has abstained from all comment or criticism, and gets immersed in imaginary difficulties which any one moderately acquainted with the subject would readily have avoided.† The

* The present king of Ava claims the like affinity,—a marvellous genealogy having been invented for his ancestor, the peasant Oungaya of Myoukmyo, who on his accession assumed the title of Along Payah, the embryo Buddha. It may be questioned, however, whether the introduction of Buddhism found the country wholly unacquainted with Indian religious and social organization. A distinguished German philologist (Lassen *Alterthumskunde*, ii, p. 1034) supports with the weight of his authority the Indian extraction of the old Burman kings. A Burmese ordinarily spells his name "Brama," and it would almost seem as if this designation had been adopted by the new Bramian immigrants to distinguish

them from the people who have absorbed them and who were known by the names of "Man and Mieng" to their Shan, Taleing and Chinese neighbours. Dr. Mason in his work on Burma, claims similarly for the Taleings an Indian origin. He relies chiefly on the resemblance of their name to Telinga, and on their physiognomic likeness; but omits perhaps the strongest argument in support of his theory, viz. the fact that the Peguans use words to denote the different months and days, almost identical with their continental neighbours.

† Thus at page 14 he finds it hard to understand why the King Byee-noung, should be elsewhere called Para Mantara. This is nothing but a corruption of the royal title Meng-

fact is that the only work on Burmah of any real scope and importance which has hitherto appeared, is Col. Yule's narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855. Besides comprising within its pages all the trustworthy information which his predecessors in the same field had painfully accumulated, it contains the results of inquiries made by a strikingly accurate and original observer, to whom the most complete acknowledgment is due from myself in common with every Anglo-Burmese student. His volume contrasts in every respect with the laborious production of an American author which appeared at about the same time, and which seems to have been constructed on much the same system as the immortal treatise on Chinese metaphysics commemorated through the medium of the *Pickwick Papers*. I know of no other works of any general interest. Dr. Anderson's monograph on Colonel Sladen's expedition in 1867, is extremely valuable and interesting, so long as he keeps out of the confines of that wholly hypothetical kingdom of Pong. Dr. Williams' narrative is even more specialized; and Bishop Bigandet, who is as well qualified as any one to write comprehensively on the country, has apparently expended all his literary longing in a brief pamphlet about Phoongyees, so that setting aside the flimsy publications of a few demi-vertiginous "globetrotters," the land presents almost virgin soil to the philological aspirant.

The treaty of Yandabo arrested the Avan monarchy in the very zenith of its power and prosperity. There was probably not the same amplitude of individual wealth as the old Peguan Empire displayed to its Venetian visitors, but there was a far greater extent of territory, including Assam, Cachar, Manipoor and Arracan,—regions which had never been subject to the Taleings. "With a noble mountain barrier as his frontier, "with neighbours who only wished to be let alone, and with such "trunk lines from end to end of his dominions as the Irawaddi, with "his teak forests and his mineral riches, a world of eager "traders to the Eastward, and the sea open in front, the king "of Ava's dominion was a choice one, had not incurable folly "and arrogance deprived him of his best advantages, cast down "the barriers of his kingdom, and brought British cantonments

taragyee Payah, which we find later on among the designations of the Peguan Kings, which he mistakes for proper names. The fact is that Ximi and Xemindoo like Mengtaragyee are nothing but official appellations, only Peguan instead of Burmese. All the vernacular expressions given by Fitch in his narrative,

belong exclusively to the Taleing language. The word "talapoing," which Bishop Bigandet has derived from two Pali words (*tala pat*), signifying palm leaf, is in reality a Taleing combination signifying "master of glory," almost equivalent to the Burmese expression *Phongyee*, both being used to designate the religious class.

"and Custom houses within his borders." * Beyond however the loss of prestige, he had suffered no serious injury from his Kulá conquerers. We had shorn off two troublesome excrescences from the unwieldy bulk of Burman dominion,—one of them a recent conquest, the other the home of his hereditary foes,—leaving unimpaired, in all its opulent security, the spacious valley of the Irawaddy and the finest of Eastern waterways stretching up to the confines of China and Thibet. The policy of government in annexing Arracan may perhaps be explained by its vicinity to Bengal, but it is not so obvious why we determined to retain Martaban and Tenasserim, unless it was in the interest of our late Taleing auxiliaries who bitterly resented our abandonment of Pegu. It is well known that our new possessions, devastated and dispeopled as these were by years of warfare and spoliation, were at first found so unprofitable that their restoration to Ava was seriously contemplated, and the scheme was only definitely abandoned as being opposed to our proud imperial maxim of "vestigia nulla retrorsum." A brief interval of order and organization proved the wisdom of this resolve. By 1852 the population of Arracan had increased three-fold, its revenue four-fold, and Tenasserim had advanced with nearly equal strides. Meanwhile the Avan Government seems to have regarded their recent defeat simply as an incentive to fresh excesses of ruffian effrontery. It may be questioned whether any dynasty has contrived to compress within the limits of a century, a larger amount of cruelty, conspiracy and crime than the nine potentates from along Paya downward, who have occupied the throne of Amarapoora. The three successive reigns of Bhodau Payah, Phagyeedau and Tharawadi, vie with the vilest excesses of a Nero or a Caligula. It is soothing to reflect that a large proportion of these amiable princes met with a miserable end at the hands of their nearest relatives, and that a fratricidal strife has nearly exterminated the elder scions of this interesting family. The present king Moungh Lon is the son of Tharawadi by one of his inferior wives, and succeeded in deposing his brother just at the time when Lord Dalhousie's famous declaration condemned the Avan Empire to eternal obscurity and insignificance. This terrible blow has left a lasting effect; and as we have remarked before † his career, with few exceptions, has been soberhued and inoffensive. His occasional outbreaks into barbarity are the inevitable reaction from the constantly strained efforts he is making after a sham civilization, which he would define as more money and more machinery. He is the first of his family who in the least degree

* Yule, page 273.

June 25th, 1875.

† India and Ava. *Friend of India*.

recognised our real position in the country, * and affected any thing of a friendly disposition towards us. We have found him a useful agent, sufficiently amenable to the British merchant, who without any expense on our part, could just succeed in controlling an exceedingly troublesome country. It was manifestly inexpedient to detract from his utility by insisting on any petty rights of precedence or punctilio. We have deprived him of all we wanted of his dominions, and in consideration of his keeping what is left in decent order and subjection, we have never obtruded our superior might, have yielded perhaps a little weakly to his petulant pretensions, and would probably have continued for years this system of self-interested humility, had not the Margary episode induced a sudden revolution in our foreign policy.

It may be doubted whether the great Proconsul foresaw the full effects of his *coup d'état*, viz., that another ten years would find British Burmah the most prosperous and progressive of our Eastern possessions. Goldwin Smith in a recent essay on "the last Republicans of Rome" affirms his disbelief "that any nation has ever attained or ever will attain such a point of morality as to be able to govern other nations for the benefit of the governed." I question whether in view of the indisputable advantages this country has derived from our supremacy, and the free and fruitful life it has enjoyed since our annexation, he would not be inclined to regard it as an exception to his aggressive generalization. It must be allowed it has presented the most promising field for the experiment. At the outset we were welcomed as deliverers by all but the dominant race, and the latter were not slow to recognise the amenities and immunities of our rule. Once established we found everything ready to our hands: administration, revenue, and educational machinery organised at least to such a degree of excellence as to admit of our retaining them for 20 years with but trifling modifications. For the first time, moreover, in our career of Eastern empire, we came face to face with the actual people, able to wield our administrative forces undisturbed and undistorted by complex influences of caste or creed. But our preeminence of position arose from the fact of there being a complete equality of rank among our new subjects; the ancient titular distinctions of noble, merchant, and zemindar having long since disappeared, and the sole precedence recognised or asserted among this nation of peasants and artisans, being that conferred by the tenure of a Government office. The political consequences of such a social phenomenon

* Officially we are still described in cence of the king occupy an obscure the palace as "white foreigners who corner of his dominions!" through the clemency and benefi-

can scarcely be exaggerated. With a nobility exclusively of our nominees, and an aristocracy of our assistants, we have a weapon which served for years to shield the vile dynasty of a venturesome peasant from the wrath of an outraged people, and which though shorn of much of its gaud and gilding, should at least avail to defend our own beneficent despotism.

The growth of the country will be seen by a few statistics. Between 1855 and 1865 the revenue increased from about half a million sterling to upwards of a million, the population from a million and a quarter to nearly 2 millions and a quarter, and the trade from about 5 millions to more than ten. In the nine years which have elapsed since this summary of Sir Arthur Phayre, the revenue has increased by half a million, the population by a similar amount, while the value of trade has risen to about 15 millions. It will be worth while to examine each of these items with some little detail.

One-half the net revenue of the province is derived from the land including the capitation tax, and about nine-tenths of the land is cultivated with paddy; when we further consider that exclusive of Toungya or Joun cultivation (when the assessment is made personally not predially) there is but one system of land tenure and this of the simplest and directest form, that the tax is exceedingly light and arrears in consequence practically nil, it may be surmised that the labours of the Local Government in land administration are not abnormally severe. Bengal Collectors amid their cumbrous and complicated financial machinery will regard with envy a country which has managed to exist for half a century without any binding revenue regulations, and which, even at this stage of its development, can compress all its special legislative requirements within the compass of one brief Enactment. It must be admitted, however, that the recent Land and Revenue Act is a very pale and meagre production. Beyond supplying us with the conveniently colourless title of "landholders" and a few declaratory sections determining his status, the Act does nothing more than provide a number of pegs for others to hang regulations upon. More than half the sixty sections it contains are concerned with the decretory powers of the Chief Commissioner, and his task assuredly will be none of the lightest. Setting aside the fact that hitherto nothing has been laid down as to the nature of the tenure of land and houses situated within town and village boundaries, it is generally recognized that a large and liberal reform is required in the organisation and pay of the subordinate revenue officials. As compared with the Bombay presidency, the only other local Government where the ryotwari system nearly universally obtains, the fiscal apparatus of the

province is almost too simple to be efficient. Practically the whole duty of the assessment and collection of the revenue rests in the hands of a "thugyee" whose sole remuneration is a fixed percentage on his collections. It consists of compiling a variety of complicated rolls and registers connected with the land and capitation tax, to enable the district officers to prepare receipts which the thugyee has to hand to the tax-payers on their settlement of the demand. The average annual outturn of a circle may be taken as between 6 and 7,000 rupees, and the average emoluments of a thugyee at 10 per cent. on these amounts. From this sum he has to hire clerks and servants to assist him in the annual land measurement and accounts, and to escort the revenue to the Sudder treasury, frequently a great distance away. From this sum, moreover, he has to provide for the conveyance of the treasure and for any fines or deficiencies which want of accuracy or punctuality may entail. To avoid the former, when he is unable to get in the revenue in time, his general plan is to complete the Government demand, with money borrowed at exorbitant interest which weighs very heavily upon his shoulders. When we further consider thugyees are frequently regarded as responsible for the behaviour of their circles and invariably referred to in every petty administrative requirement, and hold their posts on the most precarious tenure, it must be a matter of surprise how any candidates could be found for such an onerous servitude. Formerly the position was hereditary; it led to higher things, and carried with it considerable local distinction. Little attention was paid to accounts or qualifications, and there was always—to use an artillerist phrase—a broad margin of permissible error. At present in all the best managed districts the hereditary system has been more or less abandoned as untenable. Applicants are required to show some rudimentary knowledge of their work; and, once appointed, are subjected to such an amount of scrutiny and supervision as to render illegal exactions almost impossible. What has been gained in efficiency, has been lost in authority; and the thugyee of the period is generally an inexperienced and unknown youth without influence and pretension, or even hope of promotion, the higher native appointments being almost exclusively filled up by pleaders and writers from the District Courts. When it is added that there is great difficulty in obtaining even this material, it is obvious that some method of amelioration ought to be among the first results of the late enactment. A step in the right direction would be to make the various circles more uniformly manageable and compact. A still more imperative preliminary will be to effect some improvement in the pay and position of the "Yualugyee," the village head man. This unfortunate being at present is the *âme damnée* of the thugyee on the one hand and the police

on the other. Here we have none of the complicated village mechanism which exists in neighbouring presidencies, and one solitary individual has to play the various parts and discharge the various duties which the "Patel" and "Koolkurnie" the watchman and "Mhar" fulfil in Bombay. For these services he receives a salary varying from nothing at all (if he is over sixty) to the munificent maximum of 5 Rupees per annum. It consists in exemption from the capitation tax, and this is absolutely all the remuneration allowed. It may be thought that his functions are as imaginary as they are multifarious. As a police officer, he and the Yazawut Goung (a paid constable whose division generally corresponds with the "teik" of the thugyee), do all the minor criminal work of the district. They report crime, arrest offenders, convey them to the nearest station, and are in fact absolutely indispensable in a country where there is only one regular policeman to every 13 miles of territory. In revenue matters he is the sole guide and assistant of the thugyee, with all the labour this denotes and expresses, and generally speaking he constitutes the last link in the lengthy chain, the last boundary mark in the toilsome road which separates Government from the governed, the ryot from his ruler,

Too great to appease, too high to appal, too far to call.

His services as a buffer alone deserve substantial recognition. He tempers the crude ungenial force of Government mandates and messages, adjusts their impact, and regulates their action, and when it is further considered that he is invariably regarded by every official who visits his village as sworn henchman and purveyor for the time being, it is sufficiently apparent that we are not justified in exacting such an excess of unremunerated exertion. Most Yualugyees are landholders, and like their brethren in Bombay, should be allowed to cultivate a certain amount of land free of all charge. A prompt order to this effect besides being a tardy acknowledgment of their services, would cause a vast improvement in a class of men yearly becoming less efficient and respectable.*

By the time these preliminaries have been successfully negotiated, the peasantry may have become sufficiently enlightened to recognise the advantages of long leases over the clumsy and troublesome practice of annual remeasurements. At present, however, they have little to gain by the change. Their rent is light and rarely increased, they obtain liberal remission for accidents to crops or cattle, and when the year is out, are able to shift to fresh fields and new pastures without any risk or responsibility attaching from their old demesne. The labours of the Revenue Survey will probably put an end to this indifference. This

* The Sanitary Commissioner has him an unpaid registrar of births, lately swooped down, constituting marriages, and deaths.

department, after working for years on the most curiously ill-contrived of conjoint systems, has been recently organised afresh, and though not characterized by any startling rapidity of results; will eventually, it is expected, succeed in obtaining some permanent and reliable statistics. When yearly cultivators begin to find the Government demand more exactly proportioned to the net profits they derive from its land, and to realize that a rise in these will invariably occasion a rise in their taxation, they will regard with more interest the benefits of quinquennial assessment; till then the thugyees would be wise in not expecting any large decrease in their geometric drudgery.

I have stated before that rice cultivation engrosses about nine-tenths of the occupied area of the province; and in spite of the efforts of Government, it is more and more spreading to the exclusion of other descriptions of cereals. During the last few years there has been a considerable falling off in the production of cotton, sessamum and tobacco; and there seems but little chance of their ever being able to compete successfully with the superior attractiveness of paddy. This has increased in extent of acreage from about one million and a half in 1865 to more than two million and a quarter during the year under review. Despite the enormous foreign demand, the general average of price has remained nearly the same as in 1867-8; while the value of wheat, sugar, and every kind of oilseed, has increased considerably since that date.*

The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, notwithstanding the scanty and unscientific apparatus at their command, there can be no doubt the people thoroughly understand the cultivation of their food staple. According to our Report "every Burman in the interior is a cultivator." He is so potentially though not positively, agriculturists forming only one-fifth of the whole population. Any rustic of ten or eleven years old could distinguish, in an unassorted heap of grain, and give you the names of all the commonest of the thirty odd varieties of rice which to the uninitiated appear more or less exactly alike in colour, shape and texture. The large profits recently obtained in the trade have greatly intensified the general interest in the cereal; and cultivators are naturally unwilling to incur the additional risk, toil and attention which foreign plants, or even foreign varieties of their own plant, would probably require. The Burmese are always content with a single annual crop, corresponding with the *amun ropa* of Bengal. It is sown in April, transplanted about August, and reaped in

* The statistics furnished for this year (1867) can scarcely be relied on, and it is probable that the price of rice was at least 4 annas per maund of 80 lbs less than at present. As an instance of inaccuracy, statement E. makes wood-oil only Rs. 2-8 per maund, the next year's quotation being Rs. 15. So too tobacco is set down at Rs. 17-8 while in 1869 it is only Rs. 11-8.

November and December. Their land is opulent in its yield, requires little labour, and no artificial stimulus beyond the ash of the past year's stubble which is burnt down and worked into the soil. Year after year without a rest, the heavy rains and this primitive manure are all that is needed to ensure an abundant harvest; and Sir Arthur Phayre has expressed his doubt, whether any so-called improvement of tillage would materially increase the crop or permanently benefit the soil.

The present pamphlet gives the details of a measure recently introduced, which will work more good to the inhabitants than any amount of experimentalising with Carolina paddy or Manilla tobacco. Cattle disease and inundation are the two persistent foes which prevent the deltaic peasant from enjoying a complete sublunary "Naykban." From 1866, when 100,000 head of cattle were lost within eighteen months, to the year under report, when 11,661 died in a single district, hoven dysentery and the foot and mouth disease annually consume a host of patient uncomplaining victims. In February 1874 a veterinary surgeon was specially appointed to investigate the Irawaddy districts; and according to his statement most of the loss arises from preventible causes. A school has accordingly been established in Rangoon, where a few selected youths have been specially prepared in veterinary science; and it is hoped that "after a minute study of the osteology of the ox" they will be able to cope with the epidemics which annually ravage the farms of their fellow countrymen.

The second evil is not so easily and inexpensively dealt with. Embankment works have hitherto been found the only efficacious remedy against riverine floods, and fence in the Irawaddy for more than 100 miles on its western bank. I shall reserve for another occasion a sketch of by far the most important engineering work of the province; and confine myself at present to examining the results, so far as they bear upon the vexed problem of population, of the second item I proposed before examining.

Hitherto the central fact which has regulated the work of our administration policy is the disproportion of landholders to land, the disparity of territory to inhabitants. *Prima facie* it would appear absurd to predicate this of a Government which taxes its subjects to twice the extent of other Indian dependencies, and continues levying a capitation tax towards the close of the nineteenth century. The defendants of this fiscal anomaly assert that it is ancient and customary (which is doubtful), that it is easily collected (and they might add easily avoided), and that it is maintained in Massachusetts.* On the other hand, besides having all the

* Vide Mr. Ireland's report to the Commissioner of Arracan, 1871.

theoretical defects of being unequal in incidence, direct in pressure, and inquisitorial in character, it must operate as a direct discouragement to population, a married man having to pay just twice as much as a bachelor. This alone would render its abolition advisable. Our rulers, however, have uniformly proceeded upon the mistaken notion, that liberality as a landlord atones for all fiscal imperfections. It has fancied its tenantry could under existing conditions be indefinitely increased, that there was virtually no competition for its property, and that consequently the land revenue should consistently be sacrificed to increase the proceeds of the capitation tax. As a district officer has remarked, it may be said to bribe people to take up lands.* To begin with, it allows the new-comer total exemption from all rent and taxes for a certain period to enable him to clear his grant. At the expiration of that time, it levies a rent 20 per cent. lower than elsewhere and charges him only 2 annas an acre for land he may leave fallow. Besides this the settler gets generous allowance for failure in crops and cattle; and can, at any time, avail himself of 5 or 10 years' settlement under exceeding liberal terms.

Sooner or later it must be realized as the effect of this prodigality, that there is at present but a narrow space between the actual and potential margin of profitable cultivation. Such a statement as that which appeared in the Report for 1873, that there are 40,000 square miles of unoccupied spare land—waste only in the sense that there is no one to till them—is, to say the least, "a vault through the loose and large," a rhetorical floriture which could scarcely have been intended for any rigid inquisition. It is on the face of it paradoxical that two million acres of affluent, available, and easily accessible land should be offered in vain to the teeming straitened masses of China and Bengal, who annually migrate in a steady shoal to the more remote and unpromising fields of California and Guiana. Chinese artisans and excise farmers, Chittagong operatives and Bengalee tradesmen are at work in every district, showing that the road is sufficiently known and our resources sufficiently scrutinised. That their countrymen do not follow in larger numbers would at least afford a presumption that we somewhat over estimate the incidental means of attraction.

I will glance at another *a priori* argument before entering into solidified statistics. The Burmese form a community as purely agrarian by instincts and education as any of our Indian nationalities, and we might expect the ratio of actual cultivators to be larger among them than elsewhere, considering the plethora of paddy land assumed to be at their disposal. Yet what are the real proportions? They will best be seen by the following table which

* Mr. Ireland in the same report.

is borrowed from Mr. W. C. Plowden's report on the last census of the N. W. P.

	Total Population (both Sexes).	Agricultural Pop.	Percentage.
Central Provinces ...	9,104,511	4,879,431	53·6
Punjab ...	17,611,498	9,683,580	55·0
Oudh ...	11,198,095	6,542,870	58·4
Berar ...	2,231,565	1,369,576	61·4
<hr/>			
• British Burmah	2,815,193	455,805	abt. 17

that is to say that while in other countries the cultivators represent more than half and even so much as three-fifths of the whole population, in Burmah they barely constitute a fifth. This preponderance of the non-agricultural classes must be more or less unnatural and eccentric, and it remains for us to examine how it tends to self-adjustment. We will confine our glance to the Irawaddy valley which furnishes three-fifths of the whole rice produce of the country. The main river runs direct to a point about eighty miles from the sea, with lower stretches of land on either side intersected by ancillary streams. The whole of this space is annually inundated, the river rising on an average forty feet during the rains, which are more than double those of Bengal (excluding the tea tracts), and it is no exaggeration to state that an inch or so of water frequently determines whether the receding flood will leave a bright fruit laden plain or a sterile waste of ruined green. It is here of course where land is most in request. An illimitable expanse of virgin opulent soil, permeated with a net work of broad and easy waterways, converging on the two great entrepôts of central Burmah, we might imagine would long ago have attracted its complement of settlers. Yet in 1870 when the embankment works may be assumed to have begun to influence appreciably our agricultural statistics, in the three great districts of Rangoon, Bassein, and Henzada, there were only 1,489 square miles cultivated out of an available area of 11,591. In the four years which have elapsed since that date, the occupied area has increased thirty per cent., the population hardly ten per cent. The Deputy Commissioner of Henzada has forcibly described the rush for land protected by the bund. Large villages have sprung up where formerly there was nothing but

A flat malarious land of reed and rush,
and the whole aspect of the country is changed.

I have been forced to compress both my data and deductions: they at least serve to indicate the fact that increase of cultivation

* Vide Page xiii of Appendix of report for 1874-5.

does not necessarily involve increase of population, but primarily results from the artificial pre-adaptation of the existing cultivable area. Our so called irrigation works besides effecting this, tend to supply what is actually the central requirement of the country—an improvement in the means of inter-communication. At present there are altogether 850 miles of made road. Of these only 120 are first class—that is fairly passable throughout the rains—and though no statistics are furnished, we may conjecture that fully a quarter of the total mileage consists of embankment works which were not originally intended for traffic. Previous to these, roads had generally been constructed in the vicinity of garrison towns rather as a military precaution than as a public convenience, and all other itinerary improvements and repairs were left to the liberal charity of the people, who annually contribute about a lac of rupees for works of public accommodation. Outside a few isolated centres, beyond supplying a scanty and inefficient judicial and police apparatus, Government literally did nothing for the people it taxed so freely. It has been remarked that some years ago, if the English had abandoned India, empty soda water bottles would have been the chief testimony of their pristine lordship and labours. Till very recently we might have evacuated the province without leaving even this humble relic of our rule to decorate the pagoda spires of the interior. So little capital was sunk in our new estate, that the peasantry were slow to believe we intended a lengthy occupation of their land, and strangers can scarcely realize what useful purposes our earth-heaps have subserved, as a palpable and imperishable token of permanent empire and organization.

The Chief Commissioner, Mr. Eden, was the first to adopt a thorough irrigation policy; and it is to his strenuous untiring advocacy that we owe the greater portion of the Irawaddy embankments. His name will be more or less identified with them, as with education and police, as that of the first ruler who was capable of organized action instead of flimsy velleities. In October 1874, he was able to write that “the Henzada work after “paying all expenses of interest and management, had returned “more than 50 per cent. interest on the capital expended, and “this under the most unfavourable circumstances.” * At the same time he was far from being indifferent to other means of communication, and the great high-ways from Rangoon to Prome and Toungoo, made large progress before his departure. The personnel of the P.W.D. has been greatly increased during his régime; and other roads, hardly less important, are in course of

* It should be mentioned, however, “schemes being judged by hard and that Mr. Eden has always set his face “fast lines of debtor and creditor against “the results of embankment “accounts.”

construction, so that we are scarcely rash in predicting, that before the close of the century there will be some sort of direct communication during the rains between all our garrison towns,—a comfortable reflection under not impossible contingencies, which we may trust are equally remote. * There are grounds at any rate to be thankful that money is no longer wasted on chimerical schemes of Chinese railways and mineralogical explorations, and that the era is past when the survey of a line to Cambodia and “the interesting negative fact that numonulitic rocks do not extend to the East of the Irawaddy,” can be cited as the central scientific achievements of the year. †

The most imposing engineering enterprise recorded is the Rangoon and Prome Railway which was commenced in July 1874, though the whole line was not sanctioned by the Secretary of State till the ensuing December. The original design emanated from the last Chief Commissioner, Colonel Albert Fytche, C.S.I. in 1867, when we read that “a full and complete project was matured from elaborate statistics prepared in the Chief Commissioner’s office, in the Pegu Commissioner’s office, and the Public Works Department.” This matured project besides being “full and complete” must have presumed a fat and fertile harvest of profits before it was likely to be entertained by the Supreme Government. Yet even at this stage of its existence, it is difficult to conjecture the ultimate arguments which resulted in Prome, an Irawaddy station, being selected as our first mofussil terminus. Between this town and that metropolis there already exists magnificent steamboat communication; and during the year 1874, 170 voyages were made up and down the river by the 15 steamers plying between Rangoon and Mandalay. In addition to these, to quote the Report, “8,203 boats, with an aggregate tonnage of 57,285 tons passed up with exports, and 8,819 boats of 76,394 tons “were entered with imports.” It may be granted that the trade is increasing, but the steam traffic lies chiefly in the hands of a single Company, which is sufficiently wealthy and enterprising to develop the latent capabilities. The new line has thus all the disadvantage of a direct competition with superior water transit; and it is curious to find the Indian Government pursuing this policy just at the time when America and all the great continental powers are beginning to amplify and improve canal and river

* In the 1865-6 Report Sir A. Phayre mentions that “that the roads “are not constructed to any great “extent, but the principal lines are “projected, and are progressing favourably.” It is a consolatory reflection that even after the lapse of ten years they still are described as

favourably progressing. It must be remembered, however, that it takes as much money to make one mile of road or 100 cubic feet of masonry in Burmah, as 2 miles and 300 feet elsewhere.

† Administration Report, 1866-67, p. 61.

communications more or less at the expense of railways. Sooner or later some kind of canal system will have to be essayed here, especially in the Upper Irawaddy districts, where irrigation is urgently required and where a diversion of a portion of the great stream would tend to diminish hydraulic difficulties below. At present, however, admitting that the country is ripe for a railway, obviously *Toungoo* is the point to be aimed at. This important military station is now during the rains completely isolated from the rest of the province, except by a water journey of many days' duration. The *Sittoung* with its snags and shallows has hitherto foiled all attempts at regular steam communication, though the canal which is in course of construction, connecting it with the *Pegu* river, and thereby avoiding the perilous *Kayasoo* creek, will greatly facilitate access to *Shwaygyen*. In the mere light of lucre there is every probability that this route would surpass the one at present in construction. Besides almost the exclusive carriage of the rich produce of the *Sittoung* valley, it would open a direct line of traffic with the *Shan States*, whose chief trade-routes converge on *Toungoo*, though at present the *Shan* merchant arriving there, only 160 miles from *Rangoon*, finds himself as remote from his market as the *Chinaman* at *Bhamaun*, 700 miles from the metropolis. There is but little to survey; the line will run through a rich valley with no heavy gradients to overcome or large streams to bridge; very little will have to be paid for the land; timber abounds throughout the whole alignment, and the starting point is a seaport town where plant and stores of all kinds can be delivered from the ships on to the wharves or into the railway trucks.* We read that the line is at present under survey on the recommendation of *Mr. Eden*, and it is to be hoped that no disappointments which may result from the *Prome* railway will induce Government to abandon the more important and profitable enterprise.

In estimating the present and prospective conditions of the province, it should be borne in mind that there is nothing exceptional or unprecedented in the rate of increase the returns of revenue and population have shown since our first annexation. It is the immense development of our maritime trade, notably in the exports of timber and rice, which stands out unparalleled in modern *Indian* annals. Since 1862 our rice exportation has about trebled, and is at present equal to the total amount shipped from the three continental presidencies. Its further expansion will of course depend on the available area of arable land; which, with certain provisions, is practically inexhaustible. The home demand is likely to increase proportionally with the supply, so that not-

* Administration Report, 1873-4. Introduction, p. 4.

withstanding the retrogression mentioned in the Report, due to abnormal reactionary causes, there is every reason to hope that Rangoon will long continue the chief rice emporium of the East.

The aspects of the timber trade are by no means so encouraging. I have already explained at some length the details of a scheme Mr. Baden Powell, the late officiating Inspector-General of Forests, succeeded in introducing into the province.* It consisted mainly in the formation of certain classes of reserves; the first, that of special reserve, being far the most important, and destined to become "the permanent valuable-timber-and-fuel-and other-produce-yielding forests of the country."† The system has lately been in operation in a single division,—that of Prome. Its essence lay in providing that the special reserves should be confined to compact areas of the very best forest growth. Instead of this, Government with its ordinary extravagant tenderness to any thing allied to agricultural interests, drew hard and fast lines of arbitrary boundary across the face of the country, having regard not so much to the habitat of teak, as to the paltry precarious rights of a few hundred hill cultivators. The expedient thus crippled and distorted, is in many respects more objectionable than the loose protective arrangements it has superseded, and its prime originator certainly does not deserve the discredit its inevitable failure will probably entail. That some reform is necessary a brief quotation will suffice to show. "For the last 6 years "the average outturn from Government forests was about "44,300 tons; the foreign timber exported represents an annual "total of about 77,000 tons. This enormous amount, chiefly "the result of the most reckless exploitation, cannot long be "provided, and as there is no reason to expect any diminution "in the aggregate demand, it is obvious that in proportion as "extraneous supplies fail, our own will be called into larger requisition. In common with most educated foresters, the Inspector-General is not very sanguine as to whether they will bear the "strain. By the most favourable estimate, there are only "1,650,000 first class teak trees in the area available for Government operations, and it is easily calculated how long these are "likely to last us."

It is manifest, accordingly, that unless reproductive measures are more efficiently organised, sooner or later there must be a continuous reduction in the exports of this important staple. Its price has risen £1 per ton within the last four years, and already merchants are beginning to turn their attention to the superior produce of Malabar and the Malayan peninsula.

* Forest Administration in British Burmah, *Indian Observer*, October 3rd,

10th, 1874.

† Mr. Baden Powell's Report, 1873.

I may be thought to have lent too much space to the mere outward manifestations of the organic movement of the country. Commercial progress is a poor index to ethic or educational advancement; and so many thousand tons of rice or timber can hardly be considered the chief motive and resultant of all the complex forces of national life. But on so wide a subject, two or three chance facts must be the first to concentrate attention; and it is not wholly without design that I have left but a few brief paragraphs for all that remains unsaid.

The earlier years of our rule were characterised by frequent scenes of criminal violence and disorder. A Burmah though naturally amiable, is choleric, pugnacious, and when provoked thinks as little of mayhem as a frenzied Malay. In constant strife with tenacious nature, who yearly invades his fields with a confused array of botanical refuse, his dha is an implement as indispensable as the axe of the Canadian backwoodsman. Moreover till very lately some centuries of inherited instincts rendered it like the American revolver, an ordinary requirement of social intercourse; and "dha displayer" is the conventional term for a robber or dacoit. The old-Burmese officials chiefly maintained their authority by a clientèle of such reputable adherents; and when the change of Government deprived these of their legitimate gain, they easily fell back on their original mode of living. In 1861 when the population stood considerably short of two millions, there were 236 dacoities reported and over two hundred robberies. Sir Arthur Phayre, before he left, brought down the number in 1865 to 129 of the former and 144 of the latter, but they increased again in his successor's time, who though he, like Lord Aberdare, rather plumed himself on the "gratifying diminution of crime," had in 1867 to report 228 dacoities, and 188 robberies in a population of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The first year of Mr. Eden's vigorous régime saw a signal change, and the present statistics chronicle only 23 and 97 of these respective offences. The dha however is still largely used for aggressive purposes, and nearly 200 cases of hurt with dangerous weapons occurred during the year. The magistracy have been enjoined to inflict severer punishments, but the best preventive would be to make the offence punishable under the Whipping Act. The old doctrine of exact retaliation had its advantages, and a blow for a blow would answer as well in Burmah as among the Lancashire roughs of our own civilised community.

Though the general standard of crime is still excessive as compared with our other Indian possessions, the police of the province is gradually improving on the flabby and ineffective machinery of former years. They are chiefly recruited from indigenous sources, who are averse to submitting for any length of time to discipline

and routine, and who find the work too rigorous and unattractive to be any thing but a temporary makeshift. To quote the Report "the great difficulty which is experienced in maintaining a high standard of efficiency among the rank and file, will be appreciated when it is recollected that 655 or 10 per cent. had to be discharged for misconduct and 1,124 voluntarily resigned during the year." This element of instability is partially intelligible when we read that the ratio of police to population is only 1 to 440, and to area, one to every 13½ miles of country. Judged by the latter standard no part of the empire is more inadequately supplied with a protective force than British Burmah. The report further notices as a speciality of the province (like doriahs and mangosteens) that "there is an almost total absence of that marked intimacy between prevalence of theft and dearth of food which is seen so plainly elsewhere." Its argument I may remark is hardly conclusive as regard 1874. The year was one of unexampled prosperity no doubt, but only to those concerned in the production and distribution of paddy, probably less than one-third of the whole population; the rest must have suffered from the dearth of their food. In estimating the criminality of the province, it should be borne in mind that in the Peguan districts, which contribute more than three-fifths of our convicts, police organisation is barely a generation old; and secondly, that their population is largely composed of men who work in the innumerable boats which ply up and down the Irawaddy. They lead a rough and improvident life, alternating between painful drudgery and easy intemperance, and their natural tendency to evil-doing is vastly strengthened by periodical contact with the ferment and disorder existing beyond the frontier. It is this class who are the chief recruits of crime, and who degrade the moral status of the country. A glance at the statistics will show that the labouring classes, unaffected by Irawaddy or maritime influences, are exceptionally immaculate. * The typical Burman of the interior is orderly, tractable and industrious. He has perhaps no very distinct conception of moral obligations, and no great horror of thievery in the abstract; but prospective peril to his kine or coffer, to his wife's silk kirtle and his daughter's gold ear-trinkets induces speedy denunciation of neighbouring delinquents. Though he is quite in-

* Of the 15,000 convicts in the various jails of the province, about 11,000 were imprisoned in the Pegu division. In Thayetmyo, a frontier Irawaddy district, with a population of about 140,000, 1,471 convicts were in prison during the year. In Shwaygyen on the Sittoung, with a

population only 7,000 less, only 346 were in prison. So too of the 270,000 of the Prome district, 1,028 convicts were imprisoned, while in the three district of Tavoy, Mergui and Toungoo, aggregating 210,000 souls, only 283 were imprisoned.

curious as to the motive, meaning, or success of our administrative theory, he is generally submissive enough to its lesser manifestations, and has no experiences of extortionate rents and unrelenting landlords which he can identify as its prominent and palpable resultants. He is strongly imbued with conservative instincts and prejudices, but his conservatism is not unintelligent and is free from all taint of mere superstition. His life is happy enough from its own point of view, and his religious traditions are of such vague and manifold potentiality, that he can infuse what he likes of individual hopes and speculation. He has, moreover, the indefinable advantage of constant and unrestrained subjectivity to feminine work and influences; and in freedom from all trammels of caste, or class, or sex, he must be considered far in advance of other more civilized nations.

Voltaire has remarked *Le secret d'ennuyer est celui de tout dire*, and it is with this consoling adage we are forced to conclude our desultory sketch. The two important heads of Education and Foreign Relations deserve undoubtedly more than a passing allusion. The ordinary school-system is comparatively new in Burmah, and was criticised at some length in the *Indian Observer*,* on its introduction into the province. However it is working as well as can be expected, considering the deficiency of subordinate apparatus. Our external policy is now of imperial scope and significance. Burmah, some months back, was the chief centre of European interest: and though the thunder cloud has passed, the tranquillity is like that what De Quincey described, no product of inertia but as if resulting from mighty and equal antagonisms; infinite activities, infinite repose. Russia is looming beyond the realm of the Grand Lama; China has crushed its Musalmán insurgents; and with our own provincial boundaries pushed Northwards to the Himalayas and South to Singapore, the three great Asian powers may yet confront each other around the sequestered plateau of Thibet.

An Administration Report is at best a mere "farrago libelli,—

A book in shape, but really pure crude fact
Secreted from men's lives.

and the clearest of commentaries can do no more than single out for refinement some of the most valuable secretions. But the thinnest of criticisms may do service in showing, that successful as our English efforts have been face to face with a new race, religion and language, we are yet in the infancy of our Indo-Chinese rule, and require a steady and resolute pioneer in the path we have begun to tread.

H. L. ST. BARBE, B.C.S.,
British Burmah Commission.

* September 1873. February 1874.

ART. V.—EGYPTOLOGY.

1. *Egypt from the Earliest Times to B.C. 300.* By Dr. Samuel Birch, of the British Museum. 1875.
2. *Records of the Past, being English Translations from Egyptian Monuments.* 1875.
3. *Up the Nile by Steam.* By Thomas Cook. 1875.
4. *Murray's Hand-Book to Egypt.* 1875.
5. *Grammaire Hieroglyphique.* Par Henri Brugsch. 1872.
6. *Archaic Classics:—Elementary Grammar of the Antient Egyptian Language.* By P. LePage Renouf. 1875.
7. *Dictionnaire d'Archæologie Egyptienne.* Par Paul Pierret. 1875.
8. *Mahaffy's Prolegomena of Antient History.* 1871.
9. *Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History. Vol. V.* Edited by Dr. G. Birch. 1867.

THE subject which we propose to ourselves, *viz.*, to bring before our readers in a condensed form the state of our knowledge on Egyptology, is one of unusual proportions: to be entirely ignorant implies a gap in the portable knowledge of a well-educated man. It seems therefore that we should be doing some service in running over the heads of a subject of capital importance, and indicating the quarters in which information can be obtained up to the latest date. Few persons are entirely ignorant of Egypt, or would admit that they were: the study of the Bible, the Classic Poets, Modern History, and the overland passage, have made them familiar with the name. Few would like to be closely questioned as to the extent of their knowledge; and we must admit, that until the last few years amidst a blaze of learned works in English, French, and German, there have been no popular accounts available, in a readable form, of the language, monuments, and history of Egypt. Such excuse can no longer be offered: the works mentioned at the head of this article are condensed, up to date, and popular, and to be purchased at a most reasonable price.

It would indeed seem that we were arriving at the end of the world, and that there were little of the world's external features and antient history left for succeeding generations to discover. At the same time, that we are tracking back with an unerring blood-hound's scent the different tributaries of the Nile to their long-concealed sources, and revealing a secret which escaped

the penetrating inquiries of the Roman and Greek two thousand years ago ; we are also, with an almost superhuman skill and unparalleled success, compelling the soil of Egypt to give up from its bowels inscriptions in the Egyptian language and character, on stone, wood, and papyrus, which had designedly been placed there by the antient inhabitants of the country at a period anterior to the time of Moses. We cannot say, whether the Greek and Roman conquerors of Egypt were able, or careful enough, to inform themselves of the meaning of those hieroglyphic inscriptions which met their eyes on every side, and the lengthy Hieratic papyri which must have been at that time extant in countless numbers ; we have at least this pregnant fact, that no Greek or Latin translation of the sacred books of the Egyptians, analogous to the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, has come down to us, or is alluded to as in existence by classic authors. An impenetrable veil fell upon the history and language of this most antient people, who filled a grand place in the early history of the world, and, by bequeathing to mankind the priceless legacy of a phonetic alphabet, deserved a better fate. How much the world is indebted to them for other benefactions to the human race, we cannot say with precision ; for the assimilating Greek has kept in the back-ground, or totally out of sight, the long schedule of their indebtedness in art and science to the elder nations of the world.

We propose to divide this great subject into the following heads, and remark on them separately :—

- I. The Antient History.
- II. The Monuments, which have survived to our time, and can be seen in a tour in Egypt and Nubia.
- III. The Language and Character.
- IV. The Literature.
- V. The Scholars in this field.

I. The Antient History has been the subject of endless debate, and no two writers agree in detail. Certain facts are beyond doubt, that nothing pretending to be a native history, analogous to the Hebrew Scriptures, has come down to us ; on the other hand, in those Scriptures constant allusion is made to Egypt from the time of Abraham, 1900 B.C., till the time of Christ. Thus, without a rival Egypt takes its place as the earliest of known kingdoms, excepting that of Proto-Babylonia. The Father of history devoted one book of his immortal work to the subject of Egypt, about 450 B.C. The Egyptian monuments, however, contain no sort of continuous chronology, and no safe materials for constructing one. The possibility of forming any edifice at all depends on the outline preserved by Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the time of the Ptolemies ; but this

outline has only come down to us in a very imperfect state in two discrepant versions : one in the works of Syncellus, a monk of Constantinople, who lived one thousand years later, and another in the works of the Armenian Eusebius, who lived A.D. 300. Both versions, however, give the same skeleton frame-work of thirty dynasties from Menes to Alexander the Great ; and a period of about five thousand years. The monumental inscriptions when interpreted, testify to the historical nature of these lists, and render up the names of a long series of sovereigns, enclosed in the well-known oval rings : we are therefore quite satisfied that such kings did exist, but whether many were not contemporaries of each other, ruling in different portions of Egypt, is quite uncertain. No scheme of chronology can be formed from these lists, until it is clearly shown what deductions from the total should be made for contemporaneous dynasties. No lack of ingenuity and industry is evident in works such as Chevalier Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History* ; and Brugsch Bey's *Histoire d'Egypte*, which has the advantage over the work of his predecessor in being brought up to a quarter of a century's later date of knowledge. Lenormant, Mariette, and Birch have also made contributions to the same subject ; and we have selected the brief, but comprehensive, work published by the last-mentioned of the three, whose views on points of chronology, and other points, bearing on the correctness of the narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures, are moderate and sober. We shall notice some of the more startling theories presented to us by the bolder spirits ; some of which may well make us hold our breath for a time, as we see each antient landmark, each time-honoured tradition, ruthlessly swept away.

The main divisions are the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New Empire ; which are followed by the Persian, Grecian, and Roman Conquests. The Old Empire is calculated (by the moderate party) to have commenced with Menes, about 3000 B.C. Considering that the date for the Deluge is according to the hitherto accepted books of theology fixed at 2349 B.C., it will appear that this moderate date fixed for Menes requires a large expansion of ideas and latitude of time. A localization of the Deluge, or an allowance of a larger period betwixt that event and the call of Abraham, might get over that difficulty ; but behind the fact of the commencement of the Old Empire with Menes lies a succession of necessary inductions. Menes is found to be the sovereign of the United Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, civilized and flourishing, possessed of the arts of building and of writing, which last fact presupposes the existence of a language possessing refinement, and a religion possessing stability. When we consider what the resources and capacities of un-

civilized men are, we are lost in wonder at the number of centuries required, anterior to Menes, to produce this degree of settled civilization; for one of the acts of Menes was to found Memphis, and to construct a great dyke to control the waters of the Nile. Bunsen has hazarded a demand of ten thousand years, but it is obvious that we have no measure by which we can gauge the period required for the process of civilization; and the only safe course is to stand ready to give a fair hearing to safe and moderate speculations, or to rest contented with leaving this, like many other dark secrets, unsolved.

In the fourth dynasty of the Old Empire the greatness of Egypt began to show itself. Though pyramids had already been erected to cover royal remains, and war had been constantly carried on with neighbouring tribes, still we have been glad to pick up our knowledge of the names of the kings from the Greek epitomists; but now the monuments still existing contain exact and contemporary accounts of the events which took place. And the date of this dynasty is, with great show of reason, fixed at 2400 B.C. How insignificant in comparison is the earliest monumental record of the great Hindu people at 400 B.C., and the earliest monument of the Phœnician alphabet—the Moabite Stone, at 800! And we have this remarkable fact forced upon us. From the fourth or preceding dynasty the custom had commenced of assigning to each king, as he ascended the throne, an additional name: thus, for each king appears two cartouches; the first was the solar, or divine name, the second, the family or birth name. The “Plant” and “Wasp” over the latter indicated the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt; the words “Son of the Sun” were over the former. Now over the copper mines of Wadi Magaruh in the Peninsula of Sinai, in Arabia, are found these signet marks of Seneferu, affixed there centuries before the time of Abraham, and followed by a long succession of signet marks of succeeding monarchs. Thus, when the Israelites fled from Egypt into the desert, they did not, as is generally supposed, pass into a strange land beyond the reach of the Egyptians, but into one of the outlying provinces of that Empire.

His successor Khufu, or Cheops, built the great Pyramid. The principle of the construction of pyramids was this: early in the reign of the king the surface was levelled, and a sepulchral chamber sunk in the rock: over this a small pyramid was erected: if the king died, the work remained thus, but for every year he subsequently lived an additional layer of masonry was placed on the work of the previous year. When he died, the casing, or outer surface, was finished off; their object was exclusively for the purposes of a tomb, and the idea of any astronomical connection has long been exploded, and it is doubtful whether at that period the

Egyptians knew anything beyond the simplest facts of that science. His successors Shufra or Chephrenes, and Menkaura or Mencheres, built the second and third Pyramids. The existence of these monuments testify to the science, skill, wealth, and civilization of the people, which could erect such imperishable structures. The inscriptions which have survived, show that the graphic system of writing, with the use of a phonetic alphabet, was complete, and that the religion of the country was reduced to a system. The bas-reliefs of the tombs give us a full idea of the habits of the people and their advanced civilization, and it must be recollected, that four thousand years from the present date is a moderate calculation for the degree of their antiquity. Such as the Pyramids are, Abraham, Joseph and Moses, must have seen them; as they were buildings which had already existed, for a century at least, when Abraham went down into Egypt.

The kings of the fifth dynasty placed their signet marks on the copper mines of the Peninsula of Sinai, and built their own Pyramids; and to this dynasty is attributed the oldest existing papyrus, written in Hieratic character, marking another epoch; as the Hieratic character is the cursive form of the hieroglyphic, and the use of the frail material of the papyrus indicates that the art of writing had been already transferred from monumental works to the ordinary uses of life. Moreover, the contents of this papyrus are moral precepts as from a father to a son; here we have some at least of the wisdom of the Egyptians, which Moses learnt centuries afterwards.

In the sixth dynasty was the celebrated Nitocris, the Rhodope of the Greeks, who owed her elevation to her slipper being seized by an eagle and carried to the King of Egypt. With this dynasty ends the grandeur of the old kingdom, and a monumental gap follows which cannot be filled up, and which lasts till the eleventh, dynasty; which is included in the Middle Empire, but of which we know absolutely nothing, though comprehending a period of two or more centuries. This shows how completely we are still groping in the dark, and what room there is for doubt. The materials for construction of the antient history of Egypt consist of the fragmentary though precious lists, which have come down to us through Manetho and Eratosthenes, which have to be compared with the monumental lists of scutcheons of kings found on the walls of temples in Karnak and Abydos, and the celebrated Royal Papyrus at Turin. The greatest ingenuity, and profoundest knowledge of the subject, have failed in some points, and given an uncertain sound in others.

We touch ground at the eleventh dynasty:—Egypt was called "Kem" or "Kam," meaning "black," from the colour of the

alluvial mud of the Nile, in the Egyptian language, and as such it is once mentioned in the Hebrew Psalms : but in the Pentateuch it is called "Mitsraim," a dual form, indicating the Upper and Lower Egypt. The name of "Aiguptos" given by the Greeks, was probably derived from a town named "Kebta," and from the Greek word grew the name of Copt : and this town Kafta was the residence of one king at least of the eleventh dynasty about 2,000 B. C. His successor, the founder of the twelfth dynasty, conquered Ethiopia, and left a record of his conquest on a tablet in Nubia. Famines seem to have occurred at this period which led to the construction by a later king of this dynasty of the Lake of Moeris in the Faioum ; in which the surplus waters of the Nile were, as it were, stored, so that its overflow might be regulated, on which the prosperity of the country depended. In the centre of the Lake was a pyramid for the place of sepulture of the founder ; and on the banks, the celebrated labyrinth, the greatest wonder of the wondrous monuments of Egypt. Another interest attaches itself to this dynasty, that by one of its kings was erected the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis ; and the sole remaining obelisk *in situ*, and the two so-called Cleopatra's Needles, which may be said to be *in transitu*, testify to the magnificence of the structure. The survivor at Heliopolis bears the name of the king in hieroglyphics, and is the most antient of those petrified sun-beams, which the Greeks called obelisks. The real Sesostris was a member of this dynasty ; though from an historical confusion, much of the glory attached to that great name, has wound itself round the person of Rameses the Second, who lived many centuries later.

The valley of the Nile was exposed to attacks on two sides specially, and throughout its long annals we find, that down the course of the stream from Ethiopia, or from Asia across the Isthmus of Suez, its chief dangers lay. From the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty, a period certainly of not less than four hundred years, and by many calculated at a larger figure, there is a gap in the monuments ; and we have to lean upon uncertain tradition, and lists of kings, difficult to be reconciled to facts, or brought into order. But of one great fact there is no doubt, that at this period there occurred an irruption of Bedouins into the Nile valley, and the occupation of Lower Egypt, and a partial subjection of the Thebaid. Memphis and Heliopolis with their pyramids, obelisks, temples, and tombs, passed into the hands of a race differing in origin, language, and creed, poor, strong and uncivilized ; and a hard time it was no doubt for priest and noble. These invaders were known as the shepherds, or Hyksos, who are credited with the usual amount of pillage, carnage, and desecration ; and the recollection of this period lived in the

memory of future generations, and shepherds were in very deed an abomination to the Egyptians.

At this point we enter upon one of the great controversies of history, which Josephus, and the early Christian fathers disposed of with the stroke of a pen, but which seemed to be made more and more complicated by the decipherment of every new inscription, and the unrolling of every fresh papyrus. There is a school of clerics, who stand up too much for the literal accuracy of the Pentateuch; there is a school of laics, who scarcely give to these venerable Hebrew records the value which they allow to the surviving scraps of Manetho. The question is this: Who were the Pharaohs, with whom Abraham, and Joseph, and the parents of Moses, and eighty years later, Moses himself came into contact? The period over which those events are spread, cannot fall very short of five hundred years; and Pharaoh was the name of all monarchs of Egypt, of whatever dynasty, as modern investigation has discovered that it means, when analysed, "The Great Residence," very much as in modern parlance "The Sublime Porte" is spoken of. To those religionists who argue outside the limits of science, there is no reply. In the first volume of the Speaker's Commentary, Canon Cook propounds an intelligent and reasonable view, though entirely different from the results arrived at by the great Egyptian scholars. According to Canon Cook, Abraham went down to Egypt in the 12th dynasty; and in the same dynasty, which lasted more than 200 years, Joseph also went down, and was received into favour, and married to the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. The storm of the Hyksos swept away that dynasty; but the descendants of Jacob, themselves Bedouins, were looked upon with favour by the invaders, or at least left alone in their lands. When, however, the Egyptians recovered their liberty, and a new king rose up who knew not Joseph, it was but natural that those who had sided with, and were akin to, the invaders, should be kept under, and reduced to helotry; and it is under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, that Canon Cook places the exodus. Brugsch Bey, the first of living authorities, has come to a different conclusion. He places the visit of Abraham, and the going down into Egypt, in the time of the Hyksos, and the exodus in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. Who shall decide, and is the matter worth arguing? It is worthy of remark, that in the Hebrew narrative no mention is made of Memphis; and in the Egyptian annals, or monumental inscriptions, no allusion is found to such an amazing exhibition of miraculous power as the Ten Plagues, and such a heavy discomfiture as the destruction of the army in the waves of the ocean.

In these days, it is necessary to keep the mind in a state of

preparation for the reception of new and startling theories ; and perhaps none is more startling than the theory of Bugsch Bey, that the Israelites did not cross the Red Sea at all. According to him the route of the fugitives from Goshen lay along the coast of the Mediterranean, which is enclosed by marshes known as the Serbonian Bog on the south side. An irruption of the sea caused by the west wind led to the destruction of Pharaoh's army then, as it has caused the destruction of many a caravan since. No doubt there is nothing in the Hebrew text to connect the story with the Red Sea, but unquestionably the compilers of the Septuagint, who ought to have known the opinion of their time, received it as such ; and it will be difficult to bring about a general conviction, that the crossing of the Red Sea is a geographical error.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos commenced the New Empire, and the great splendour and power of Egypt. For a period of four hundred years no power in Europe, Africa, or Asia could stand before them. Not as yet had the Trojan war been fought, or a powerful monarchy been established on the Tigris. Over and over again did the armies of Thothmes and Amenophis and Rameses traverse Palestine, conventionally supposed to have been partitioned among the Twelve Tribes ; and carry their standards to Damascus and Nineveh, leaving their inscriptions upon the rocks of the conquered countries. The magnificent temples and tombs at Thebes, the Sphinx at the Pyramids, the monumental tablets and temples far up into Nubia, the gigantic statues, the galleries of paintings, the miles of hieroglyphics, the countless papyri to be seen in all the museums of Europe, are the out-come of this period of magnificence and civilization. Amenophis II. is the Memnon of the great Colossus at Luxor ; and Rameses II. is the Sesostris of Herodotus. With Seti I. originated the idea of the Suez Canal, which it has taken nearly four thousand years to carry into execution. Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Cyprus, acknowledged the superiority of Egypt during these two splendid dynasties, and sent presents and tribute and female slaves ; and these last must have had a sensible effect upon the population ; and Rameses II. himself, from the admixture of blood caused by the Semitic alliances of his ancestors, exhibits in his features, which are so well-known in European galleries, the refined Asiatic, different from the Nigritic type of the kings of the nineteenth century. He had a multiplicity of children, and a plurality of royal titles ; he it was who reduced the Hebrews to bondage, and compelled them to build his treasure city Ramses ; he it was from whose wrath Moses fled when he slew the Egyptian, and on whose death he ventured to return.

Rameses II. reigned sixty-seven years, and was succeeded by his thirteenth son Menephthah. Great as was the wealth and prosperity and glory of his reign, the country had begun to decline, exhausted and burnt up by the exertion and the splendour. His successor's reign is interesting from two distinct causes. He was unquestionably (*pace* Canon Cook) the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which marks a period in the world's history; and a still greater epoch, that of the siege of Troy, is fixed by a series of careful inductions on ascertained facts, as having happened very soon after. In Menephthah's campaign against the Libyans, and the victories recorded on his monuments, we find certain mention of the Sardinians, the Sicilians, the Etruscans, the Lycians, and the Achæans, who served as mercenaries under the Libyan King. Light was in fact beginning to dawn upon the West, and the cackling of the great brood of Europa's chickens was beginning to be heard. All this will be found eloquently set forth in Mr. Gladstone's last work, "Homeric Synchronism;" and round this point ranges one of the great Egyptian controversies. We find in Homer an echo of the greatness of the hundred-gated Thebes; and the feigned story put into the mouth of Ulysses, with regard to events happening in Egypt, indicates a substantial knowledge of that country.

The great line of the Rameses continued with diminishing splendour. Rameses III., of the twentieth dynasty, was the last of the heroic kings of Egypt. He was known to the Greeks as Ramsinilus, and the events of his reign are detailed in the great Harris papyrus. He was warlike and luxurious: a calendar on the roof of one of his temples at Thebes marked the fixed year, or the rising of the Dog-Star on the first day of the month Thott, the New-year's day of Egypt; and this must have been about 1,300 B. C. By the irony of fate the granite coffin of this monarch is in the Museum at Cambridge, and the papyrus roll of his temple in the British Museum.

Egypt now lost all its foreign possessions. One king of the twenty-first dynasty gave a daughter in marriage to King Solomon; and another of the twenty-second gave a daughter in marriage to Jeroboam; this was Shishak, who was of non-Egyptian origin, and he captured and plundered Jerusalem, of which the name appears among other conquered cities on the walls of a portico at Karnak.

After the inglorious dynasty of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth followed the Ethiopian invasion, under Sabaco (called so in the Hebrew Scriptures) and Tirhaka of the twenty-fifth dynasty. The power of Assyria had now begun to be predominant. Samaria had been occupied. The cuneiform inscriptions throw new and unexpected light upon the history of Egypt, which was finally

subdued by Esarhaddon, and was divided among numerous local governors or princes ; one of whom founded the twenty-sixth, the last native dynasty, rendered illustrious by the names of Psammetichus and Necho ; and here we can plant our feet firmly on the rock of absolute chronology and undoubted history. Greeks were largely employed under those monarchs ; and the whole character, language, and religion of the Egyptian people began to undergo a sensible change. With one more Egyptian King we come in contact in the Hebrew Scriptures, after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar :—This was the unfortunate Apries, the Pharaoh Hophrah, in whose reign Jeremiah the Prophet and a Jewish remnant fled into Egypt. Within a short time followed the Persian conquest, and Egypt became only a province.

No nation has occupied a place in history so long and so nobly. For more than two thousand years Egypt was one of the greatest powers in the world. No nation was so self-conscious, so desirous of perpetuating the fame of its achievements. Every Museum in Europe teems with the spoil of Egypt. Haughty time has been unjust to her. Fairly worsted in the long struggle with the Semitic powers on the Tigris and Euphrates, she gave way before Assyria and Babylonia, and was overshadowed by the great Persian Monarchy. If the Greeks restored to her an independent existence, her civilization, language, religion, and arts paled before the new development of ideas ; and Rome hated, despised, and extinguished her. Roman historians speak of her with disdain ; and Roman poets, such as Juvenal, with loathing. By public and private monuments, tablets, and tombs she had striven to secure a life beyond the grave. She recorded Heliacal risings on the ceilings and walls of her temples : she recorded the names of her kings, but noting only the regnant year of each monarch, no basis was found for real chronology : one papyrus known as the record of four hundred years was the sole exception : attempts have been made to construct chronology based on great Sothiac cycles of 1,461 years. No eclipse has been noted in such a way as to be utilized. The loss of the works of Manetho and Eratosthenes was an additional misfortune ; and in spite of all that has been done by the past generation of critics, all dates are provisional only—the regnant years afford no better materials for a sound system of chronology than would the number of a covey of partridges to measure the diameter of the sky. Moreover, the power and importance and merits of Egypt have been systematically undervalued, in proportion as the power and importance of the Hebrews has been over-estimated. Egypt has become the type of all that was evil, because it treated the Hebrews with the severity usual to subject and inferior populations in the early ages of the world ; there was none of the exceptional ferocity which marked

the conduct of the Hebrews to the people of Canaan, nations of kindred races and speaking a kindred language to that of the invaders : yet the tiny cry of this petty nation, that only for a few short years could hold its own, is heard far above the drums of the Egyptian and the trumpets of the Assyrian conqueror, and it is only within the last quarter of a century that we have the materials from the Assyrian and Egyptian store-houses, sufficient to contract, and reduce to proper limits, the Hebrew legends. As far as documents enable us to trace during the long period that the national life of Egypt flowed on like its own Nile, it received no affluents, and owes nothing to exterior influence. Ethiopia at one time received civilization, and at another time imposed a yoke : Arabia had little, and India, no influence at all.

II. Of this wonderful greatness, this exuberance of monuments, above and below ground, which lined the banks of the Nile from the second cataract to the sea, the remains are countless. Up to the beginning of this century the sand of the desert, and Muhammadan disdain, had preserved them in the dry air ; colours and carvings, pottery and cerements, clothes, ornaments, and papyri had survived the wreck of ages : the plundering of the Roman conquerors was moderate. During the many centuries which intervened betwixt the fall of Rome and our own days, the work of destructions was limited to the utilizing of material for newer dwellings ; but since the commencement of the present century, the work of excavation, plunder, and removal, of wanton destruction, of injury by exposure has gone on, until in these last days the Khedive has himself started a Museum of Antiquities, and forbidden all further exportations. A tour up the Nile is still one of the most delightful excursions, and we propose briefly to follow the tourist and note the monuments which will fall under his observation. There are indeed remains in the Delta of the time of the Pharaohs, at Sais, Bubastis and other places. All the world has heard of Memphis, and the three great groups of Pyramids, the Sphinx, and the Tombs, and the Serapeum, all in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and thence conveniently visited. The days for Dahabeahs on the Nile, and delightful weeks spent in tracking up and floating down, are passing away ; and the steamers offer speed and economy, and by the aid of enterprising conductors of tours, all the petty annoyances of travel are removed from the tourist, who is able to throw himself into the subject, and the progress of the steamer is so arranged that nothing should be omitted :—provision is further made either for a limited tour to the first cataract, or a more extended tour to the second.

In a few lines we will follow the tourist:—On the fourth day he reaches Beni Hassan, with its rock tombs, and the Speos Artemidos: on the sixth day the steamer stops to allow of a visit being paid to the grand and magnificent ruins of Abydos. On the eighth day the temple of Dendarah is visited, and on the ninth there is a halt of three days at Luxor. This is the centre of a cluster of magnificent ruins at Luxor itself, Medinet Haboo, Karnak and the Valley of the Tombs. On the twelfth day the voyage is resumed, and the splendid temple of Edfou comes in sight; and on the thirteenth the shorter trip is completed, and the steamer arrives at Assooan and the first cataract. The return journey down stream occupies six days: the whole cost is £46.

For those who have leisure to continue the route up to the second cataract, a second steamer is ready at Philæ: the places at which the tourist stops to inspect ruins are numerous, and the trip to Wadi Halful and back to Philæ occupies twelve days, at a cost of £40. The greatest attraction which Nubia has to offer, is the great temple of Ipsamboul, or Aboo Simbal; with its four gigantic figures of the great Rameses, each sixty-six feet high, hewn in the solid rock, and wearing the double Pschent or crown indicating Upper and Lower Egypt. The distance traversed from Cairo to the second Cataract by the river route amounts to about 780 miles; and the trip there and back can be accomplished with comfort in five weeks. The climate itself is enjoyable in the winter months beyond all description. No doubt in the monuments there is a sameness, and few might care to make the excursion twice. Until the time that the Prometheus torch of the Greek let in light, there is the same rigid statue-idea from the earliest date of the empire through the Hyksos period to the grand days of Thothmes and Seti I: there is the same family likeness, and identical type—long limbs, flat feet, high shoulders, large eyes, opening on the outer angle, large mouth, low forehead, nose slightly flat, open nostrils. Such was the conception of mortal beauty before Aphrodite sprang from the foam of Cyprus. There was a certain hieratic canon to regulate the human frame, though the features were meant to be recognizable as portraits; and Amenophis can always be distinguished from Thothmes as Augustus from Trajan. Moreover, place an Egyptian “fellah” by the side of a statue, and you will at once recognize the model:—for beyond any doubt the present inhabitants are the representatives of the antient race, as the Coptic, only lately fallen out of use, is of the antient Egyptian language.

III. To this grand subject we now turn. It is a wonderful phenomenon, that of this language for so many hundred years all memory and tradition should have been lost. We have

monumental proof that up to the time of the Emperor Decius the language and character were known. With the destruction of the Alexandrine Library, no doubt, perished Greek treatises which might have supplied a clue. The Romans were utterly unsympathetic to the history and custom of any nation but their own. Up to the commencement of this century the problem seemed insoluble, as no one could decipher the character or translate the language, when the character had been deciphered. The time had come for the discovery of this secret, when the Rosetta stone with a trilingual inscription in Greek, as well as in the Demotic and Hieroglyphic characters of the Egyptian, fell into the hands of the French, and passed by the chances of war into the hands of the English. Certain preliminary points had been discovered; one of which was, that certain characters inclosed in a ring were proper names. Dr. Young in England, and subsequently Champollion in France, struck out the idea that the characters, contrary to the established notion, were phonetic. The name of Ptolemy appeared in the Greek version more than once: by careful scrutiny certain rings in the hieroglyphic were presumed to represent that name, and a fortunate discovery of another stone with the name of Cleopatra enabled Champollion to compare the two names, and the letters in each were found to correspond in hieroglyphics, where they were identical in Greek: this led on to the certain discovery of the whole system.

All doubts, cavils, and objections have long since passed away. It is one of the accepted truths of modern science, that the antient Egyptians have left us in their monuments, and their papyri, three distinct forms of writing:—I., Hieroglyphic; II., Hieratic; III., Demotic. The first-class is so far misdescribed, that it was used for other than sacred purposes, and by other means than sculpture or engraving. In fact the characters were painted, inlaid, embossed, expressed in a lineal form on a variety of material for every kind of subject. The system, though thoroughly understood, was most complicated and artificial. The characters were used phonetically or as ideographs: when used phonetically they might be letters or syllables: when used as ideographs, they might represent a particular object, or be used as determinatives of a class; they can be written from right to left, or from left to right, or vertically. The whole system is found in force, even the phonetic portion, from the earliest date of the old empire: it is difficult to realise the long antecedent periods required for the elaboration of such a system.

As early as the twelfth dynasty in the old Empire, we find the necessity felt of a cursive system of writing, and are introduced to the Hieratic character, which is identical with the hieroglyphics

but bears the relation of our running hand to print: the language of both is identical, though perhaps the hieratic is able to express more grammatical refinements. In this character the great majority of the papyri are found, and it is the special interest of the early documents of this period, that from them is traced the first germ of the Phœnician character, to which Europe and Asia are indebted for their various alphabets. This subject is too large to enter upon further: the gap betwixt the hieratic of the twelfth dynasty and the earliest Phœnician monument, the Moabite Stone, is very considerable; and the connection of the two is not as yet one of the accepted truths of science.

As time went on, the language of the Egyptians underwent modification. The Greek influence began to be felt, and in the time of Psammetichus a further modification took place in the form of the character known as the Demotic; but to the last the Egyptian scribe could not free himself from the use of ideographs, and they are found in the demotic, but to a less extent. In this lay the mighty innovation of the Phœnicians, that they adopted an alphabet free from the confusion of ideographs and the complications of the syllabary.

The name of the Emperor Decius is the last which appears in hieroglyphics. The latest use of the hieratic character is about one century before the Christian era: the demotic was not destined to survive the introduction of Christianity, for, in the second century of our era, a modified form of the Greek character with supplementary signs was introduced, known as the Coptic, which lasted on till within the last century, when both Coptic language and character gave way to Arabic. The probable cause of the abandonment of the demotic character was the use of ideographs which still clung to it: the assertion that the use of the character with its heathen associations was offensive to Christians, would apply equally to Greek and Phœnician, for no trace of resemblance survived in the demotic of the figures which are so conspicuous in hieroglyphics.

It is worthy of note, that in the Upper Nile analogous changes took place in the language and character of Ethiopia, though entirely independent of Egyptian influences. A local demotic sprang into existence in supersession of the hieroglyphics which had been common to both countries, though this by no means implied identity of language. The Ethiopian demotic was purely alphabetic: it was read from right to left, and the words divided by strong points, probably adopted from the Romans. After this local demotic followed a local variation of the Greek character analogous to Coptic, and this finally gave way like the Coptic to the Abyssinian Ghey, imported across the Red Sea from Arabia.

It is calculated that there are nearly one thousand distinct characters available to the Egyptian scribe: they are thus classed:—

Ideographs	...	...	...	...	620
Determinatives	...	...	...	...	164
Phonetics ...	...	...	...	...	120
Mixed signs	...	...	...	...	56
					<hr/>
Total ...					960

In their anxiety to be clear, the scribes would, in addition to the ideographic sign, which was a picture, or a symbolic sign of the object, spell the word out phonetically, and then affix a determinative: thus the letters of the word "*horse*" would be spelt out, and then the figure of a horse, and then the sign, that indicated an animal generally: it is obvious that for grammatical inflections phonetic characters alone could be used. All this may seem very clumsy to us who have enjoyed an alphabetical system for many generations; but we must recollect that it was only by very slow development that the mind of man attained to the notion of an alphabet: even to this day the Chinese have not attained to it:—and the Egyptian ideograph has this merit, that it is always intelligible, owing to the material on which it was depicted, while the Assyrian ideograph, being punched in clay by a wedge-shaped stilus, has long since lost its identity, and become a conventional sign without the simplicity of an alphabetic system.

When the great discoverer Champollion had solved the difficulty of the character, he grappled in a masterly manner with the much greater difficulty of the language. He assumed with justice that Coptic must occupy to old Egyptian the position occupied by modern Greek to the antient language: and fortunately Coptic, though dead as a spoken language, saw not, linguistically speaking, extinct; the tradition of interpretation and an ample literature had survived. Through the Coptic he approached the antient Egyptian, and with marvellous success. He made known to astonished Europe a language of high grammatical development, but of a separate and distinct type. It has been asserted by some, that it occupies a middle position betwixt the Semitic and Aryan families in their earliest stages. Our knowledge of that primitive period, confessedly anterior to the first germ of the inflectional system, is not sufficient. It is safer to call it a Chamitic language: it possesses obvious and marked Semitic affinities, both in its vocabulary and grammar; but it possesses also elements common to Nigritic languages, and has been classed in a group of North-

East African languages. We are confessedly, as yet, not arrived at any fixed opinion on this very abstruse subject; and it must be remembered that this language had come into existence 3,000 years B. C., on the most moderate calculations.

The literature which has come down to us, and which we shall describe further on, indicate that it is no savage and uncultivated language: it could only have arrived at the state at which we find it after a long period of settled civilization. A grammatical treatise would be tedious to read and to write; but we must note, that gender is indicated by a final *to*, as in Semitic, and the plural number by a final *u*. Cases were formed by prepositions; and it is remarkable that the preposition had not reached the stage of a crystallized particle, but varied in gender and number with reference to the word governed. Adjectives take the plural suffix, and follow their noun. The pronouns appear in one form when detached, and in another when suffixed, with a strong Semitic resemblance in both cases. With regard to the verb there is an apparent difference of opinion among the highest authorities; for Brugsch Bey gives a list of thirty-two tenses, and a certain number of moods, while M. LePage Renouf states that there are no tenses at all. The root remains unchanged, and the variations of time are expressed by particles, and the delicate instrument is capable of sounding so many notes; but whether they are grammatical tenses, or syntactical groups of words, is a question more of detail than of principle: it is enough that the verb can be so handled as to express all these shades of meaning, a precision to which neither the Semitic Hebrew nor the Aryan Keltic ever arrived. Another feature is that the pronominal suffix attached to a verb is a reality, and has not passed, as in Semitic languages, into a form: for, if it is used to imply "he does a thing," it is *not* used when the agent is expressed "the man does a thing"—showing that a consciousness existed of the meaning of the suffix. The syntax is very regular, and position alone often determines the meaning: the sentences are very short, full of metaphor and antithesis. The same laws of human thought regulate all languages, and Egyptian sentences are generally short and easy of analysis: but there is a want of logical completeness in the structure, and much of the details of modern expressions has to be supplied. As the speaker supplemented his imperfect mode of expression by gestures of face, hand, and body, so the Egyptian attempted to make clear his expression by determinative and special ideographs, or painted pictures, and he has succeeded. Nothing is more remarkable than the yearning of this great people to communicate with after-ages, and not to let their great acts be forgotten; and after the lapse of centuries their wishes have been granted.

One of the great differences betwixt their language, and the Aryan and Semitic families, is that the distinction betwixt roots, stems, and words, can hardly be said to exist. The bare root, which in other families of languages lies as it were, below the surface, and is only revealed by its developments to scientific inquiry, and is, in fact, only a grammatical expression, is almost invariably identical in Egyptian with the word actually in use. From one Aryan or Semitic root are formed all parts of speech by certain laws, but the Egyptian root itself is potentially verb, noun, adjective, adverb. The word "aa" may be an adjective "great," or a noun "a great one," or a verb "to be great" or an adverb "greatly" accordingly as the sentence requires. Any particle with the suffix "u" will form a plural noun: thus, "hem" means "in," and "hemu" those that are in, or "the inhabitants." The shades of meaning are formed by combinations of the auxiliary verbs, of which there are several, and certain prepositions—perhaps the English language may be described in the same way. It is unnecessary to add, that there is much discrepancy in interpretations, and much that is not susceptible of interpretation: the ideas of man at that remote time ran in a very different channel, and even where the language-difficulty is got over, the meaning is not intelligible. We hear the same complaint from Max Müller with regard to Vedic Sanskrit; there are whole verses which yield no sense, and words at the meaning of which only guesses can be made: and this in spite of commentaries and tradition uninterrupted. Between us and the old Egyptians there is an impassable gulf, unbridged by tradition. We grope darkly amidst the *debris* of a ruined world.

The use of suffixes led to ambiguity, three suffixes were possible in connection with a verb—one for the subject—and one each to represent the nearer and remoter object. Imagine, "I gave it to him" expressed in such an elliptic form: and as there was no distinction, as in Hebrew, betwixt verbal and nominal suffixes, the same phrase would translate "thou hast made," or "made for thee." Many a point arises in Egyptian literature to show that we are in a very early and remote stage of intellectual development, though one equally remote from savage and unlettered life.

Compound words are not frequent, but they occur in sufficient numbers to show that the genius of the Egyptian language is not as repugnant to compounding as that of the Semitic languages; but it is a compounding of a very elementary character, far removed from the grand system of Aryan word-architecture. In the long period from Menes to the Christian era, we are made aware of certain gradual and insensible changes of the language. By the time of the nineteenth dynasty, phonetic decay had pro-

foundly modified the language. We cannot tell what change had taken place in the living speech, for antient orthography then, as now in English, was adhered to long after the pronunciation had altered; and even the old language, however extinct in practice, continued to be used in writing until the time came when the Demotic felt its strength and supplanted it. This is a common phenomenon in all countries,—there is a limit to the life of a language, whether it be Hebrew, or Sanskrit, or Latin, unless it has the power, like the English, of assimilating new forms, and embracing new vocabularies. Free from all the shackles of grammatical forms, with the suppleness of the Romance and the material strength of the Teutonic family, and the heir of all the Greco-Latin wealth, it seems destined to be the world-language of future ages. Such was not the character of the Egyptian language. In its solitary stream from its unknown reservoir, it borrowed nothing from its neighbours, who, as far we can tell, were in a state of unlettered barbarism. It had no models by which to form itself, no contemporary literature to act and re-act upon it. The Aryans and Semites, wherever they migrated, always found races who had been there before them, and their languages show traces of the admixture; but the Egyptian stood alone, and as it had borrowed nothing from its neighbours, so it gave off no new languages to its colonies or its conquests, and left but scant traces of its vocabulary in the languages of its neighbours. The Egyptian words in the Hebrew Scriptures do not exceed a score. It was a piece of marvellous good fortune that enabled the Coptic to live on through the Middle Ages into a period of linguistic sympathy, and thus be the interpreter to us of the antient and entirely forgotten Egyptian.

The system of writing admitted of great variation, and this materially helped the decipherer. The same matter was found in demotic, hieratic, linear hieroglyphic, and sculptured hieroglyphic; every word could be expressed by an ideograph, or picture, alone, or preceded by an alphabetic group, spelling out the sound, and followed by a determinative; or instead of an alphabetic group there could be a syllabic group, spelling out the sound in syllables; or the ideograph could have a phonetic complement, spelling out a portion of the word; or the whole of these expedients might be used collectively followed by a determinative of sounds, and a determinative of meaning. Moreover homophones were numerous. In this way figures helped to explain sound, and sound figures: a value once established in one text helped to explain another. To express the phrase "the bull died"—probably there would be written "was on death the bull:"—An auxiliary verb and preposition written alphabetically; then "death" written phonetically—(alphabetic or syllabic) with an ideograph,

and determinatives of sound and meaning, and then the article written phonetically, and "bull" in the same detailed way as "death."

There can be no doubt that the ideographs were in their first conception the painting of one idea. This was the "Mimic" stage—a cow was represented by a cow, and the product of the cow by a cow and a jar. Then followed the Metaphoric stage: "Knowledge" was expressed by a "jackal," the "pen" represented "writing." The step from these symbolic signs to determinatives of a class depended on the progress of the mind from the individual to the general, from the concrete to the abstract. The step, by which syllabic signs were formed, was a still greater triumph over matter. It implied the intentional separation of the *entire* sound from the *meaning* of the word: and the next step was the selection of the ideographs of certain words to represent the *first* letter of that word only, and thus on the acrostychic method to form an alphabet. The great vice of the system, which lasted to the end, was the existence of polyphones; and the fact that the signs selected to play the part of syllables and letters, still kept their ideographic powers to be used at pleasure; so that there was ample room for confusion and errors. Add to this the errors of the copyist, which were numerous, and the fact, already noticed, that much of the surviving literature was not intended for any living eye, and was therefore carelessly copied by scribes, evidently ignorant of the meaning. The usual way of writing on the papyrus was in vertical columns from top to the bottom, and then to the top of the next line. On monuments the writing was arranged to suit the sculptor, or architect, but the animals point always to the direction from which the writing is to be read: the materials to which this precious knowledge of the Egyptians was committed consisted of wood, papyrus, terra-cotta, and such hard substances as granite, basalt, breccia, or calcareous stone.

IV. What, then, of literature has come down to us? Vague rumours of the wisdom of the Egyptians had survived in history. Every child reads of Moses being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and we know pretty surely that many of the actual documents now submitted to our eyes existed for centuries anterior to Moses, being buried out of his sight; and that many of the monumental inscriptions, certainly the obelisk at Heliopolis, the place where Joseph was married, and the Pyramids, must have been seen by him during the forty years of his youth and manhood. We might have expected to have found some evidence of this wisdom in the writings of Moses; which, however, present no trace of such culture, but were written in a Phœnician character in a totally different language, bearing traces of the wear and tear of centuries of a civilized life, elegant, refined,

and developed, and very unlike the language of those who had been shepherds in Canaan, and slaves and makers of bricks in Egypt.

Of the books of the Egyptians some notice has come down to us in classical authors, specially of the books of Hermes, which were forty-two in number; the canon had been closed in the time of Psammetichus. The last six related to medicine. The others were in classes: songs, horoscopes, hierogrammatic, ritual, sacerdotal. One with certainty has survived from this collection, viz., the "Book of the Dead," called also the "Ritual of the Dead": and to another a place may be assigned with probability, "The Medical Papyrus." Whatever has survived to our times has survived in a state of mutilation more or less severe. Some papyri, such as the Royal Papyrus of Turin, is in a bad state of decay. Much restoration of text and meaning has to be made by all translators, and here lies another vast cause of divergence of opinion. Until within the last few years, it was difficult to get at the texts which had been translated in France, Germany, and England. In the series of the *Records of the Past*, published by the Society of Biblical Archæology, three volumes are dedicated to translations of Egyptian texts, revised and corrected by the authors, the most distinguished living Egyptologists. At the end of the third of these volumes is a long list of texts to be printed in future volumes; and beyond them, as we gather from the opening preface, is an unlimited number of texts which await translation in the different Museums of Europe.

And let us consider for a moment the nature of these documents, thus suddenly placed at our disposal. They are not copies of copies, with error multiplied on error, by the fraud of the interpolator, the carelessness of the scribe, the crime of the forger:—they are the original literature of Egypt, and nothing of any particular value is of a date later than that of Herodotus: graved on stone, painted on walls, buried away in tombs, they have been marvellously preserved. How poor in comparison to them appears the earliest stone monumental tablet of India, contemporary with Alexander the Great, and the earliest Sanskrit manuscript about the thirteenth century of our era. What have the Semitic family to boast of in the Moabite Stone, not very long anterior to Psammetichus, and the earliest Hebrew Manuscripts about the date of the Norman Conquest? There is no room for fraud, at least of the kind which we have to fear: the errors of the copyist can be controlled by the multiplicity of copies. Stone monuments betray the attempt to interpolate and alter. The spite of Thothmes III. against his sister, which led him to substitute his name for hers on the monuments, is betrayed by his omission to sub-

stitute the masculine gender for the feminine in the context. Old disputes on theological matters, old family quarrels, stand out evidenced by mutilation rather than fraud.

These revelations have come upon this generation by surprise. A wiser posterity will weigh well the new evidence supplied for the writing of history. It is all very well for the Commentator of Isaiah in the Speaker's Commentary to ignore the discoveries made with regard to the Assyrian Monarch on the Cuneiform monuments; the wiser commentator on Genesis has accepted and utilized the Egyptian revelations. For Biblical exegesis these documents supply contemporary information, lying outside all polemical influences, all sectarian bias; they have not been manipulated by the early Fathers, or altered to suit the ignorant preconceptions of an ignorant age. There they stand; they cannot be ignored, and it would be a grievous error to reject them. Whatever uncertainties may exist during the novelty of the study from the variety of interpretations of imperfect scholarship will gradually subside. Additional data are supplied yearly; a profounder inspection brings unexpected solutions of difficulties. It may safely be stated that there is no greater discrepancy among Egyptologists than in translations made from other languages in the dawn of philological scholarship: we may go further and say, that there is not more than what is good for eliciting the truth; had there been a wonderful consensus, there would have been no argument and room for serious doubt. Moreover, there is an agreement between English, German and French scholars on the main facts to a striking extent; indeed, it was from the circumstance of the representatives of the three great nations, who agree about nothing else, being entirely of one mind at the International Congress of Orientalists at London on the main features of the Egyptian discoveries, that the attention of the writer of these lines was first drawn to the study of this subject, which had previously appeared almost visionary and conjectural, while in truth the knowledge acquired is absolute, and fixed on a solid base.

M. Pierret, in the volume quoted at the commencement of our paper, gives brief and accurate information on every subject connected with Egypt. Under the word "Papyrus" he enumerates all the celebrated papyri, specifies the name by which they are known, generally that of their first finder, and the contents. Under the head "Literature," he states that there are specimens of nearly every kind of composition. History is supplied by the numerous public and private inscriptions, tediously long and vain-glorious, yet published under the eyes of contemporaries; the Royal Papyrus of Turin, the Harris Papyrus of London, and other official papers are *bond fide* historical documents, the

pulp of history. The "Book of the Dead" opens out a wonderful chapter of mythology. How came Moses to give such imperfect notification of a future state, that, even down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Sadduceism was an open question, when he must have known the contents of this wonderful book, based on a conviction of judgment after death, of rewards and punishments weighed out by unerring wisdom? Each Mummy is found with a copy or extract of this document on papyrus, on the vestments or on the coffin: the deceased is instructed as to the questions which he will be asked and what he is to answer. The soul declares itself to be free from sin and defilement: a code of stern morality is disclosed, and in Horus he will be justified. Tedious, confused, lost in vain repetitions, inconsistent, unintelligible, still this book stands out as a wonderful disclosure of human thought groping after God, if haply he could find Him; of human responsibility to a Power greater than any earthly king; of human equality before his Maker; of human weakness and need of a Saviour to support him during the dreadful passage through Hades, when the soul leaves the Mummy swathed in bandages and appears before Osiris on his throne and the Forty Judges, in the Hall of Two Truths, hoping by the help of Horus to get to the boat of the Sun. Of such first-rate importance is this book, and so numerous are the copies, and so great are the variations of the text (for portions of the book date back to the fourth dynasty, and the received text published by Berlir is of the date of Psammetichus some two thousand years later) that it was determined at the London Congress to employ a competent scholar to collate all the texts in Europe and Egypt and publish a revised text; and M. Naville of Geneva, has been entrusted with this task. Moreover, in that long period it must needs that the religious convictions of the people must have undergone modification: it is proposed to publish one text of the date of the old empire, one of the new, and a third of the period of Psammetichus, when decay of national life had commenced.

We might pause to reflect of the consequences which would have arisen if instead of the single copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, as arranged by Ezra, and translated into Greek by order of Ptolemy, we had every sepulchre in Judæa yawning to give up copies contemporary in date with Moses, Samuel, Solomon, and Josiah, and large portions transcribed on the walls of the temple of different dates, reflecting the varying sentiments of the parties in power:—many a cobweb-theory would then be brushed away.

We next come to the hymns and litanies to the Sun, Amen Ra, the tutelar god of Thebes, known to the world as Jupiter Ammon, the great Providence who maintains the harmony of creation, and renews life: they abound in pure and lofty senti-

ments, and whatever may have been the practice, they have a monotheistical note pervading them. Such expressions as this occur—"He is not carved in stone;" "he is not seen in the images of the gods, nor are prayers offered before him;" "no man knoweth his abode:" "vain are images of this form." And yet the nation was sunk in deepest idolatry and Nature-worship.

Under the head of Ethics we have in the Papyrus Prisse a specimen of a moral treatise of the old empire: it is the very oldest intelligible hieratic book, and therefore the oldest book in the world. It commences with a complaint launched against old age by Ptah Hotep, a Magistrate, who decided his last case before Abraham was born. But even then he was a *laudator temporis acti*; he looked back on better days and good old times, and prated about the degeneracy of moderns. Even then at this remote date the gentler virtues had found their chronicles. We find chapters on obedience, control of temper, reverence to the great, benevolence, chastity, respect for women, wisdom in council, and fear of God. Some author has fancied that the Egyptian wife of Solomon, some ten centuries later, must have had a copy of this antient treatise in her library, and have suggested to her husband his "Proverbs"; but a larger survey of mankind, from China to Peru, from the time of Menes to the time of Victoria, suggests the real truth, that moral saws are the outcome of every clime and every age:—they are the bubbles, which rise to the surface of the bowl, the waters of which are stained with blood and abomination, the more defiled the waters, the purer the bubble-proverbs.

The next class is one which was to be expected, *viz.*, Magical books. We have heard of the profession of magic from Moses. The great Harris Magical Papyrus has been translated. Notions of this kind underlie the intellectual life of all the older nations. We find these strong in Chaldæa: the Jews could not free themselves from them. In civilized nations the subject is a thing of the past, but we cannot speak with contempt of the long series of statesmen and warriors who, in their time, bowed their heads to the Magician and Astrologer. They had before them the insoluble question of good and evil; the riddle of joy and sorrow, the miserable exigence of life with its accidents, pains, wants, sickness, and death; the toss-up lottery of good and evil luck; and they fancied that they could control, could circumvent, could escape, by the help of Arts, then considered illicit, and now deemed ridiculous.

The Medical Literature was somewhat allied to the preceding. The chemical art derives its very name from Egypt,—as the "Alchemy" of the Arabs can most surely be traced to "Cham,"

the most antient name for Egypt. The great Ebers Papyrus dates back to the old empire, and is known as the Medical Papyrus, and is only one of many. The whole process of Mummy-making was in itself a science. The study of medicine can be carried back by these documents to the very earliest dynasties.

The Epistolary documents of the Egyptians are very numerous and very interesting. We have some eighty letters of the age of the great Rameses, on various subjects from various writers; others seem to be collected as if for general circulation: they are specimens of style, and illustrations of manners. We see how the papyrus was folded up and sealed and addressed. At that early period the scribe had already fallen into the inevitable snare of formality, conventionality and humbug, generally; at the close of a string of common-form expressions follow two or three words with the gist of the matter, preceded by the word "Memorandum" in red ink, showing that the tedium was felt and avoided, though good manners compelled the maintenance of the practice. There is a bundle of letters, about the date of the Exodus, some on domestic matters, asking why the supply of ducks and vegetables had not been sent; some on the subject of the chase; some in a moralizing mood, contrasting the hard life of the husbandman with that of the scribe, and one profession with another, anticipating the first Satire of Horace by fourteen centuries.

The works of fiction are the most marvellous revelation. Two precious papyri have preserved us two romances—one in Hieratic and one in Demotic character; the latter, strange to say, found in the tomb of a Coptic Christian monk, as if the worthy man weary of his chants and litanies had taken some light Pagan literature to solace him in his coffin. The first romance is the "Tale of Two Brothers," and its date is about 1300-1400 B.C. Let us consider the literature of the new world, and reflect whether any old tale is older than this, which we read in the original manuscript, composed for the edification of the Royal Princes. It need scarcely be said that the story hinges on the conduct, and the bad conduct, of a woman. In fact here we read the story of Potiphar's wife with variations, an appeal to the Deity by the injured Joseph, and the instant interference of the Sun-God; then follows a succession of marvellous events of a type quite peculiar to Egypt, turning on constant transformations of the outward body, accompanied by a personal identity of the soul: the cattle have the power of speaking, the most unheard-of events take place, but virtue triumphs. The whole of the story is translated in the *Records of the Past*.

The Romance of Setne belongs to a much later date, 300 B.C., but the grammar and form of expression are identical with its

predecessor, though one thousand years had intervened ; but we have no certainty but that the papyrus which has passed into our hand may not be an oft-repeated copy of a favourite author.

Of Epic poetry and Biography we have specimens. The *Pentaur* has been called the Egyptian Iliad. We find copies of this poem on the walls of a temple at Thebes, and of a temple at Abu Simbul in Nubia near the Second Cataract. These are in hieroglyphics, but papyrus copies in Hieratic are in the museums of London and Paris. The subject of war, that iniquity of kings, had commenced long ago. Rameses II, the Sesostris of Herodotus, had commenced his campaigns against the Kheta (whom we recognize as the Hittites of the Israelites in subsequent centuries), the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and the Dardanians, in fact all Western Asia. Of course the king triumphed, defeats were never recorded ; of course he performed countless acts of personal valour and slew thousands :—"Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona," and here they are, for these victories were anterior to Troy by a century, and the same king was the one who oppressed the Israelites and compelled them to build Store cities. The victories of Thothmes III, and Seti I. are also recorded on the temple walls at Thebes in strains rising far above the level of prose. Amen Ra is made to appear and grant the known world to his favourite ; including even Assyria, where proud monarchs in after ages have left inscriptions, in which the God Ashur gives everything to them. A few centuries later we have the boasting inscriptions of the Achoemenides that Auramazda had given everything to them. Another inscription of a later date tells of the conquests of Menepthah, the son of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the exodus ; and introduces the names of the Sardinians, Sicilians, Lykians, Tyrrhenians, and Achæans into a poem written with all the fire and detail of an Epic.

Of an equally interesting character is the narrative of the travels of an Egyptian general in Palestine and Phœnicia in the time of Rameses II. We have here geographical details of the highest interest, coupled with details of private troubles. Our traveller gets robbed at one place, and confesses to a discreditable flirtation at another, which led to his being fined ; this took place at Joppa while the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt. Another tale is worthy of notice, "*The Story of Saneha*" from its extreme antiquity. There was a certain change in the language and character, which came about during the long interval of the Hyksos usurpation, which enables the compositions of the Old Empire to be unhesitatingly distinguished from those of the New. And this tale belongs to the Old Empire, and the copy which has come down to us bears on its face the fact of being a copy of an earlier document. The story turns upon the loss by a

rustic of his asses, and an appeal to the sovereign. The papyri were found in a tomb, as if they had been copied by the deceased or had been interesting to him during his life.

As if to evidence the maturity of the intellect of the people of that period, we have also specimens produced of satirical poems, accompanied by pictures, and not sparing even the sovereign. In one picture Rameses III. is depicted as a lion seated at table, playing at chess with one of his wives depicted as a gazelle. It is clear from the picture, that the monarch is having his own way as to the rule of the game, and that the unfortunate female feels that to win the game might entail loss of life. We have also specimens of those animal fables which have been the delight of all ages. The fable of the mouse and lion appears in its earliest form, with words placed in the mouth of each animal; and the lion is characteristically addressed as "O Pharaoh," shewing that it was but a title.

We must pass over the legal documents throwing a light over judicial processes. We hear of conspiracy against the life of the sovereign fully inquired into, and a special court of inquiry upon a sacrilegious violation of the tombs of the kings, made as far back as the eleventh century B.C.; showing that the work of pillage so well followed up in all succeeding ages had already commenced.

This is but a faint and imperfect sketch of this wonderful literature. Weighed in comparison with these documents, the Hebrew books, even those that came from Moses, cannot be deemed old; and when it is recollected that the manuscript that has come down to us, is gathered from copies of copies in unknown succession, it can scarcely be brought into comparison on the score of authenticity with the actual originals or early copies, which the sands of the desert have preserved for us in Egyptian tombs and temples. What shall be said on the score of the language and character? If a dim and unknown antiquity must be predicated, to allow of such a language, such a religion, and such a written character coming into existence in Egypt, still there is a simplicity and an archaic character in the word-lore and its unchanging root, as well as in the sentence-lore, and the hieroglyphic character strongly contrasting with the Phœnician alphabet used for the Hebrew Scriptures, and the highly elaborated language, showing marked signs of the wear and tear of centuries. "Let there be light" is presumedly the first utterance heard. How many centuries were required to work out the Hebrew clothing of those words, the apocopated third person singular of a future with an affix? And yet the Israelites believed in their time, and many good Christians still believe, that they were the *ipsissima verba* of the Creator.

V. We have but small space to mention the names of the great dead and living scholars, who since the year 1821 A. D. have founded this branch of science. Perhaps there has been less din of war in this branch of oriental study than in others, arising perhaps from the nobility of character and commanding genius of the leading scholars. Diversities of opinion in many matters of details there are; but since the snarls of Klaproth and Seyffortt against Champollion have been silenced, and Sir Cornwall Lewis' plea for ignorance has been forgotten, honest and honourable rivalry betwixt the French, German, and English schools has been the order of the day.

In England, Dr. Samuel Birch of the British Museum for many years alone upheld the study. He assisted Bunsen throughout his great work, and in the fifth volume published the first Egyptian grammar and dictionary. To him we are indebted for translations of texts, and the series of texts in the *Records of the Past*. M. LePage Renouf has published a practical Egyptian grammar, and has translated numerous texts. The Rev. Canon Cook has done good service by applying the knowledge of Egyptian to the elucidation of the Pentateuch in the Speaker's Commentary. It is possible to differ from him in the conclusions drawn, and yet praise his method and learning. Mr. Goodwin and Professor Lushington have also translated texts. This, indeed, is the great service, that all Egyptologues can render, *viz.*, to add to the stores of literature, and thus increase the vocabulary. Unfortunately there is no crop of young scholars: neither the State nor the Universities find it within their scope to advance, or keep up, the knowledge of this antient language: there is no endowed chair for a Professor. Lectures are indeed gratuitously given, and the British Museum places its unrivalled collection of monuments and papyri at the disposal of students. Something more is required.

In France Champollion shed a bright lustre over the discovery, and the French Government sent out an expedition of explorers to Egypt under his control. His Grammar and other works stand out in heroic proportions.

To him succeeded Viscount de Ronge in the Professorial Chair at Paris, and advanced the science in every way. His famous paper on the connection of the Phœnician with the Hieratic Alphabet marks an epoch in our knowledge.

Maspero has made use of Egyptian discoveries to advance historical inquiries. Mariette Bey in Egypt has, under the orders of the Khedive, made such researches, and brought together at Boulaq such a Museum as would have been impossible under less favourable circumstances. Pierret is the custodian of the Egyptian Museum at the Louvre; and, with other works, has published

a Dictionary of Egyptian Archæology of remarkable practical use. In the death of Deveria there was a heavy loss to science, but he left a catalogue of the Papyri of the Louvre Museum to recall his name. Chabas has made numerous and valuable contributions to periodicals devoted to Egyptology, and among others to the *Records of the Past*, which has the great merit of collecting together the works of numerous authors. These are but the most famous, and these also have devoted themselves primarily to this one study; but besides them there are others who have utilized the acquired knowledge for works of a general nature like Lenormant, or studied Egyptian in its bearing on other languages. The students of Coptic might also be noticed.

Among the German students, Chevalier Bunsen stands conspicuous. He made the country his study during life, and treated the subject from every point of view. In his great work "Egypt's Place in History," he made use of Dr. Birch and Prof. Lepsius, to a most unusual extent. His method was heavy, and it requires patience to drag through the lengthy argument, and a feeling of relief comes to the reader when, according to the oft-repeated Hebrew whine, he escapes from "the land of Egypt and the house of bondage." In Lepsius we have the real successor of Champollion. He devoted himself at an early age to the study; he visited the museums of Europe, and eventually conducted the Prussian expedition to Egypt. There we met him in the prime of his youth in 1843; and at the Oriental Congress of London of 1874, we again came face to face with the grand old man. It is as difficult in a few words to state what we are indebted to this great Scholar, Archæologist, Decipherer, as to read during the forty years of his study what advances have been made in Egyptology. In the different towns of Germany there are great Egyptian scholars, who have each left their mark,—Ebers, Eisenlohr, Lauth, Duemichen, Stern; in Coptic there have been great scholars, one of whom, Schwarye, compiled the first and most complete Grammar. We must not omit Brugsch Bey, who has had special opportunities in the service of the Khedive. He has opened the road to the study of the Demotic form of the Egyptian language, and has published a Grammar of Demotic, as well as one of the antient Egyptian; and has given forth numerous translations of texts, as well as ingenious historical and geographical theories, which no one but himself had the opportunity of forming.

Italy has produced students of Egyptian Antiquities, and her Museums are filled with the Spoils of the Egyptians. In M. Naville of Geneva the science has one of her youngest and most promising scholars. In Vienna Reinesch contributed; and Denmark in the last century sent forth Zoega to pave the

way for Champollion, and has in Lieblein a worthy representative.

In the small series of books called the *Records of the Past* are published the remarkable documents of the Egyptian and Assyrian Nations, which have survived the wreck of ages. With one nation the Jewish History begins, with the other it ends. Their national life was a miserable oscillation betwixt the attracting and repellant powers of the two great kingdoms of the Nile and the Tigris. Over and over again was Judæa traversed by the hostile armies even when the Bible narrative is silent: the power of the Philistines, who occupied a few strongly fortified towns on the Mediterranean, was no doubt based upon Egypt: Damascus and the Hittites represented the adverse influence from Mesopotamia. It is remarkable to notice in what these great rival powers resembled, and in what they differed. Both were exceedingly powerful, exceedingly warlike, far advanced in arts, very self-conscious, and desirous to leave their mark for future ages, very religious in their way. Both were great builders, great decorators; both invented, or borrowed from independent sources a phonetic system of writing, and covered their public buildings with inscriptions, much of which has survived to our time after having been concealed for centuries. We must conclude that the Jewish people were less civilized, or less careful of future fame, or less fortunate; for no one inscription has come down to us of the age of the Jewish Monarchy, a date comparatively late in Egyptian annals, and contemporary with the numerous inscriptions of Nineveh, and the solitary one of Moab.

The Egyptian nation borrowed nothing: in its long solitary career it skimmed the meltpot of civilization without predecessors, and without rivals. It invented everything, and left to ungrateful posterity the splendid legacy of an Alphabet. Papyri are now unrolled, which were deposited in mummy-cases long before Abraham visited Egypt; and the carelessness of copyists, who fancied that their handywork would never see the light, has not escaped the critical acumen of an after-generation. The early Egyptians grasped fully the notion of a life beyond the grave, and a future judgment: but their religion and worship found no sympathy in other nations. Aphrodite sprang from the foam at Cyprus, and laughed down the Egyptian Athor; and with Zeus from Crete, and Apollo and Diana from Delos, extinguished the Egyptian Triad.

If the fate of Egypt was that of Pompeii, to be choked in ashes and sand, the fate of Assyria was that of Herculaneum to be buried alive. The Roman knew nothing about Nineveh, save the merest fables; the Greek fought the battle of Arbela almost on the soil that covers the ruined palaces. The Assyrian

had borrowed every thing from a predecessor of a different race and language, whose very name he managed to stamp out of history. He succeeded in roughly adopting the Accadian mould of syllables to the Semitic material: the Medes and Persians borrowed the same mould, and adapted it to their Scythian and Aryan languages: but the system had no root, and it died there.

Not so the language, the civilization, and the legends. The Hebrews and Arabs caught up the grand melody of their extinct sister, and made further development and improvements of their own, handing them down, as revealed truth, from generation to generation; until the nineteenth century began to excavate the forgotten palaces, and found the germ of the legends carved on bricks and tablets which had provokingly refused to perish when empires and nations disappeared. So in fact by a strange fatality the method of writing employed by the Assyrians died, but their ideas and language lived; while on the other hand the ideas and language of Egypt died, while its alphabetical system is destined to live for ever.

ART. IV.—ANCIENT INDIAN METAPHYSICS.

FEW if any of our readers will have failed to mark the tendency among scholars to direct their efforts more and more to the investigation of the stages of opinion, usage, inquiry, and social inter-relation, through which mankind have passed. Their task is the construction of scientific history. The study of masterpieces gives way to inquiry what facts have co-existed in each state of the past, how each later has arisen out of each earlier stage of human culture. That man may be known as he is, he is to be known as he has been, through generation after generation. Stages of life, hitherto neglected by the inquirer as unworthy of his powers, are now seen to have the earliest claim upon his attention. The growth of the intellect, the expansion of the sympathies, are to be watched from the outset. It will be found that while much is variable, something is constant, through the successive ages, and that in the fixed order of things it is but slowly that many of the convictions of the higher man have risen into clear and distinct consciousness. First truths have been the latest to manifest themselves. The structure of our thoughts is to be studied in the race, not only in the individual. History as supplementary to introspection is to equip men for the fulfilment of their calling, to know themselves that they may remake themselves.

This, or something like this, is the ideal by which students are more or less consciously actuated. A new fabric of knowledge is in erection. No material requisite to this, be it precious metal, stone, wood, hay, or stubble, shall be rejected. No regard shall be had to the attractive or the unattractive. The work must proceed as it may, and at the last its beauty will come out from the symmetry of the whole. Such is the apology for many a life of irksome labour, unprofitable in the view of the ordinary spectator. At present the inquirer must be contented to look to the future, and work on with little appreciable result.

These views and these feelings are so far prevalent that a picture, suggestive and tentative as such a picture must at present be, of ancient Indian speculation, will be not without interest, for general readers. It is true that there is little that is attractive in the "holy jungle" of Indian metaphysics. Its highest representatives, Sankarāchārya and Mādhavāchārya will be seen to be at best but acute schoolmen, subtle expositors. Still the Indian systems, rude as they are, exhibit the intellect at work under peculiar conditions, and will take their place, whenever they shall have been thought out and clothed in European

terms in the future histories of philosophy. To every man, and to every generation, the same questions have presented themselves: What am I? what is all around me? what, if anything, lies beyond those surroundings? what is the explanation of the whole? Or, in other words, with what conception of the totality of things shall the curiosity be quieted or silenced? These questions have been asked in India as in Europe. Let us look at the answers which have been given to them in India. In this paper we shall look chiefly at the outcome of the earliest discussions, the Upanishads, in the Aupanishidi Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta.

In every age men have had some image or other of the totality of things to pacify their moments of reflection. In early times this image is impressed from without rather than constructed from within. It enters, bringing with it a mass of beliefs rude and incoherent, which spread abroad and are handed down unscrutinised. These are purely customary and sentimental products of general, not of individual, interpretation. By them, and partly by the necessities of social order, the earliest prescriptive custom is shaped out. The poet and the priest are they that add to their colour and form. Philosophy first emerges in the attempt to purify and to systematise these beliefs and to adjust them to a higher state of popular sentiment. And this is at first the work of the bolder or more gifted priests and poets.

To the early Aryans or semi-Aryans of India the powers of nature presented themselves as so many personal agents. Volitional activity was the only mode of unexpected or imposing change thinkable or expressible in language. Their representation and interpretation of all that took place around them was anthropomorphic. This was not a poetical fashion of talking, but the conception and the language necessitated to them. "Man's* early tendencies," are constantly leading to a wide and vague application of his whole nature, to see himself in everything, to recognise his will, and even his sensations, in the inanimate universe. This blind analogy is almost the first hypothesis of childhood. The child translates the external world by himself. He perceives, for example, successions under the law of causality, but he adds to this causality his own consciousness of voluntary effort. He perceives objects under the law of extension, but he has little conception of an extension which should overpass his own power of traversing it. The child personifies the stone that hurts him; the childhood of superstition (whose genius is multiplicity), personifies the laws of nature as gods; the childhood of philosophy (whose genius is unity) made

* Archer Butler : *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*, p. 194.

the world itself a living breathing animal, whose body Nature was, and God the soul."

Thus was it that to the ancient Indian a multitude of personalities manifested themselves in rain, in fire, in wind, in storms, and in the sun. In ever-varying aspects they stood above or round about mankind, ready to befriend or to injure them.

Sky and earth are the father and mother of gods and of men. Aditi, the unlimited visible expanse, is the mother of chiefs, and of heroes. Mitra, presiding over the day, calls upon men to bestir themselves, and watches all things with unwinking eye. Varuna, ruling the night, gives a cool place of rest to all that move, prepares a path for the sun, sends his spies through both the worlds, knows every wink of men's eyes, cherishes truth and hates falsehood, seizes the evil-doers with his noose, is besought to have mercy on the sinner. The As'vins youthful, lustrous, and beautiful, go out in their golden car before the dawn, bringing health and riches to men. Ushas, the daughter of the sky, untouched with age, but bringing age to men, dispels the darkness, drives away the lurking enemies, comes to every house, wakes the sleepers, sends men to their work afield, makes the birds to fly aloft. Agni, variously generated, the offspring of the fire-drills, fed with butter, carries the offering to the gods, brings the deities to the sacrifice, is internunciary between gods and men. Sūrya proceeds through the sky in his chariot drawn by seven mares, seeing all things, looking upon the good and evil works of men. Indra, ruling the firmament, overthrows Vritra the demon that obstructs the brightness of the sky, splits the clouds with his thunder-bolt, dashes the water to the earth, restores the sun to the heavens, protects the Aryan colour, and destroys the dark and degraded Dasyus, godless, prayerless, neglectful of sacrificial rites. Parjanya, the thundering rain-god, scatters showers from his water-skin and fills the earth and sky with fatness. " * The winds blow, the lightnings play, the plants spring up, the sky fructifies, the earth teems for the good of all, when Parjanya visits the earth with moisture." The Maruts, or storm-gods, armed with lightning, clothed with rain, make darkness in the day, water the earth, and avert the heat. Soma, the mountain-growing milk-weed, invigorates the gods, exhilarates men, clothes the naked, heals the sick, gives eyes to the blind. With Yama, the regent of the dead, departed spirits abide in happiness amidst the fore-fathers of mankind.

Such and many others were the bright beings around them. It was well to flatter them with hymns, to feed them with butter, to intoxicate them with the juice of the moon-plant. Thus dealt

* *Rig-veda* i, 185, 1.

with they would become friendly and fatherly, and would send rain, food, cattle, children, and length of life.

All this has been told a hundred times. What concerns us here is that in all this vivid imagery and child-like belief there is little or nothing of moral or spiritual significance. A sinner is one that withholds prayer and praise and sacrifice from the gods, the robber, demon, or savage who infests the Aryan settlements. The pious man is he who flatters, and feeds, and bribes the gods.

δώρα θεοῦς πείθει, δῶρ αἰδοίους βασιλῆας.

The gods eat the offerings, and give in return the good things of life, rain, food, cattle, chariots, wealth, offspring, health, prosperity, a hundred years of life. Pleasures are to be enjoyed again in the after-life in the body in the realm of Yama.

As among other primitive races the sacrifices were offered as gifts, as compensation for mistakes or transgressions, that is, for dues withheld, and as necessary sustenance. The spirit of the Vedic sacrificer is that of the Maori feeding the wind :—

“Lift up his offering,
To Uenga a te Rangi his offering,
Eat, O invisible one, listen to me,
Let that food bring you down from the sky.”

How much of this spirit went down to later times the Bhagavad-gîtâ may testify :—

“Prajâpati of old, after creating beings with the rite of sacrifice, said : By this shall you propagate yourselves : be this to you the cow of plenty. Sustain with this the gods and let the gods sustain you : sustaining each the other you shall attain the greatest happiness. Fed with the sacrifice the gods shall give the food that you desire. He that without giving to them eats the food they give is a thief indeed. The good who eat what is left from the sacrifice are loosed from all their guilt, but they eat sin who cook for themselves alone. Living things are made of food ; the food proceeds from rain ; the rain proceeds from sacrifice ; the sacrifice from ritual.”

In the age of the Rishis the Indian tribes had reached a certain degree of order and prosperity. They were gathered together into villages and fenced cities, in houses of mud and of stone, under chiefs and princes. They tilled the soil, irrigated their fields with water-courses, tended flocks and herds, and following their individual aptitudes worked as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, boat-makers, weavers, leeches, warriors, poets, priests. They fed on their flocks, drank soma and wine, and amused their leisure with games and spectacles.

With tranquillity and leisure as usual came uneasiness and inquiry. The poets began to speculate about the origin of the heavens and the earth. Sometimes they thought them made by the gods, or by one or other of the gods, after the manner of a human artisan. Sometimes they thought them generated by the

gods after the analogy of human parentage. Of earth and sky one of the Rishis inquires: "Which of these was first, and which was last? How came they into being? Sages, who among you knows?" * "What was the forest?" asks another, "what the tree from which they cut out the sky and the earth, abiding, not wearing out, while the days and many dawns have worn away?" In one hymn they are the work of Visvakarman. In another it is Hiranya-garbha that arose in the beginning, the lord of existent things, that establishes the sky and the earth, that gives life and breath. In another it is Varuna, either alone, or associated with Mitra, that fixes the heavens, metes out the earth, and dwells in all the worlds as ruler. Agni, sometimes the son of heaven and earth, is at other times said to have stretched out the earth and sky, to have inlaid the sky with stars, and to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves. In other places it is Indra that has generated the sun, the sky, the dawn; that sets up the luminaries in the heavens, that upholds the two worlds, the waters, the plains, the mountains, and the sky. Elsewhere it is Soma that generates the earth and sky, that puts light into the sun, and stretches out the atmosphere. In another hymn Aditi, the illimitable visible expanse, is all that is: "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother, and father, and son. Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born, Aditi is whatever shall be born." The five tribes are Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, S'ūdras, and Nishādas.

In the celebrated Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rig-veda X, 129, the universe arises out of darkness and chaos:—

"Nonentity was not, nor was entity. No air was then, no sky above. What shrouded all? Where? In the receptacle of what? Was it water, the deep abyss? Death was not then nor immortality. There was no distinction of day and night. That one breathed stilly, self-determined: other than or beyond it there was naught. Darkness there was wrapped up in darkness. All this was undifferented water. That one that was void, covered with nothingness, developed itself by the power of rigorous contemplation. Desire first rose in it, which was the primal germ: this sages seeking with the intellect have found in the heart to be the tie of entity to nonentity. The ray stretched out across these, was it above of was it below? There were generating forces, there were mighty powers, a self-determined entity on this side, an energy beyond. Who, indeed, knows, who can declare whence it issued, whence this creation? The gods are on this

* *Rig-veda* x, 31,7. This question is answered in the *Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa* ii. 8,9: Absolute self was the forest, absolute self the tree, from

which they cut out the sky and the earth. See Muir: *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v, p. 32.

side of its creation : Who then knows whence it came into existence ? This creation, whether if any made it, or whether any made it not ? He, who is the overseer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows, or haply knows not."

It will be seen below how this hymn is explained by the Indian schoolmen to contain implicitly the cosmology and theology of the Vedānta. Their interpretation may be strained, but it is likely to be nearer to the design of the ancient Rishi than any we can put upon it, with our thoughts determined as they are by wholly irrelevant antecedents. In examining Sanskrit literature we cannot be too cautious of being guided by our hereditary preconceptions. The poet appears to suppose a state of things in which the one undifferented being, spoken of under spiritual predicates, and therefore to be conceived as absolute self, exists side by side with some inscrutable principle spoken of as darkness, undifferented water, nothingness, neither entity nor nonentity. Thus associated the one undifferented passes into plurality and difference. If this construction be approximately correct, we certainly have in this hymn the rude materials of the absolute Egoism of the Upanishads, and the illusionism of the Vedānta, a doctrine branded by Vijnāna-bhikshu in the Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya as the modern invention of crypto-Buddhists and false professors of the Vedānta. It will however soon appear that it may be questioned whether this illusionism or something like it be not the earliest philosophy of India, and whether Buddhism itself be not the acceptance of this philosophy, coupled with the rejection of the transcendent self as underlying the cosmical illusion, the knowledge of which the Brāhmans arrogated to themselves as their exclusive right, and the substitution for it of a void or blank. Buddhism, as it is well known, originating among the non-Brāhmanic classes, offered itself to mankind as a catholic religion. However this may be, in this hymn we are brought to the dim and misty twilight that foreruns the dawn of Indian philosophy. As yet everything is confused and indistinct, but personalities are giving way to abstractions in the interpretation of the outer world. Philosophy can only be said fairly to exist when men begin to strive to shape for themselves a clear, distinct, and consecutive conception of the totality of things.

In Rig-veda X., 72-2 we read : "Brahmanas-pati has forged these births (of the gods), as a blacksmith blows his flame : in the primal age of the gods entity came forth out of nonentity."

In the Purusha-Sūkta, Rig-veda X., 90, the fabrication of the world, the genesis of the Rik, the Sāman, and the Yajush, of the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaisya and Sūdra, is from the sacrifice of Purusha by the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis. "Purusha

has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He, compassing the earth on every side, stands ten fingers' breadth beyond. Purusha is all this, that which has been and that which is to be: the lord also of immortality; that which grows up with food. Such is his greatness, and more than this is Purusha: a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky." The Vedic hymns belong to widely different periods, and this is regarded as one of the latest. The exposition of Sāyana, or as he is otherwise called Mādhavāchārya, in the language of the Vedānta, will be detailed below.

The hymns made in generation after generation by the Rishis, who describe themselves as fashioning them as a wheelwright fashions a chariot, or as begetting them, or as sending them forth, or as having received as fabricated or generated by the gods, were handed down orally from age to age, till they came to be regarded as of inscrutable origin and authority. They were denied to be of personal invention.

* The Rishis had seen them. An elaborate sacrificial system had grown up, and ritual and legendary commentaries were constructed in the several Vedic schools. In these are further indications of an after-life and of retributions after death. Of these certain portions to be read in the solitude of the forests were styled *Aranyakas*. And from the *Aranyakas* proceeded the *Upanishads*, the treatises from which emanated the later Indian philosophy and theosophy.

The ancient Aryan tribes had become more and more assimilated to, and absorbed into, the earlier and ruder populations. "† The old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the North-West at least three thousand years ago. And in the Veda these people portray themselves in characters which might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people more like the Australians than anyone else, and speaking a group of languages called Dravidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier of the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of central Asia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been in the main, absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature." It was apparently in consequence of this intermixture that they took up the doctrine of metempsychosis, as they adopted the cult of S'iva, and

* *Rishi*=*mantradrashtri*, Sāyana. Texts, vol. ii. p. 285. Cf. Carpenter:

† Prof. Huxley, in Muir's Sanskrit Human Physiology, p. 894.

reinstated the usage of widow-burning. * S'iva or Mahādeva is thought to have been introduced as an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north, and to have been grafted in upon the ancient religion by an identification with Rudra the howling-god of tempests, the father of the Maruts. "The sacrifice of widows prohibited in fact, and retained in symbol, in the Vedic funeral rites, prevailed originally among all the Aryan tribes."† It appears to be not a new invention by the later Hindu priesthood, but the revival, under congenial influences, of an ancient Aryan rite belonging originally to a period earlier even than the Veda.

The doctrine of transmigration appears to be another mark of degradation from intermixture with the earlier and lower races. The ancient poets had looked forward to a second life of pleasure in the body among the fathers of mankind under the rule of Yama. As to punishments in a future state they are silent. ‡ In later days a passage of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa relates how Bhrigu, the son of Varuṇa, visiting the four extremities of the world saw men cut into pieces and eaten by others. These being asked by Bhrigu what this meant, said that they were revenging upon their victims the injuries they had suffered in the former world. Thus, in the later Vedic period, the Hindus had begun to "§ coin their own hopes and fears, their own æsthetic preferences and repugnances, their own ethical aspiration to distribute rewards and punishments among the characters around them—into affirmative prophecies respecting an unknowable future, where neither verification nor elenchus was accessible." A work which they carried out into minute and revolting detail, when they had come to accept the theory of metempsychosis.

Personality and exertive power, such as that of which they

* Muir : Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 393 sqq.

† Tylor : Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 420. C.f. 419 : "The Aryan race gives striking examples of the rite of funeral human sacrifice in its sternest shape, whether in history or in myth that represents as truly as history the manners of old days. The episodes of the Trojan captives laid with the horses and hounds on the funeral pile of Patroklos, and of Evadne throwing herself into the funeral pile of her husband, and Pausanias's narrative of the suicide of the three Messenian widows, are among its Greek representatives. In Scandinavian myth, Baldr is burnt with his dwarf, foot-page, his horse

and saddle : Brynhild lies on the pile by her beloved Sigurd, and men and maids follow them after on the hell-way. Old mentions of Slavonic heathendom describe the burning of the dead with clothing and weapons, horses and hounds, and, above all, with wives. Thus St. Boniface says that "the Wends keep matrimonial love with so great zeal, that the wife may refuse to survive her husband, and she is held praiseworthy among women who slays herself with her own hand, that she may be burnt on one pyre with her lord."

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 322.

§ Grote : *Plato*, vol. ii, p. 205.

are conscious in themselves is, by the lower races, associated with the figures of the dead seen in dreams, or in those life-like visions with which from their long fastings and their use of narcotic drugs they are so familiar. These figures are to them the surviving souls of the departed. They make no such distinction as the higher races make between the souls of men and the souls of inferior creatures. In their dreams and visions they see the figures of both alike before them, and in their every-day experience they find in both alike the manifestations of life and death, of discrimination, and of preference and repugnance passing into outward energy. “* Savages talk quite seriously to beasts alive or dead, as they would to men alive or dead, offer them homage, ask pardon when it is their painful duty to hunt and kill them.” Plants and trees also like animals and men thrive and grow, or wither and decay. They, too, have some kind of soul or principle of life. But the savage faith in surrounding personalities stretches far beyond the limits of the organic world, and takes in a conception much more alien to the modern mind. “Certain high savage races distinctly hold, and a large proportion of other savage and barbarian races make a more or less close approach to a theory of separable or surviving souls or spirits, belonging to stocks and stones, weapons, boats, food, clothes and ornaments, which to us are not merely soulless but lifeless.” Even Rāma is presented with such animated weapons:—

‡Facing the east, the glorious saint
Pure from all spot of earthly taint,
To Rāma, with delighted mind,
That noble host of spells consigned.
He taught the arms, whose lore is won
Hardly by gods, to Raghu's son.
He muttered low the spell whose call
Summons those arms and rules them all;
And, each in visible form and frame,
Before the monarch's son they came.
They stood and spoke in reverent guise
To Rāma with exulting cries:
O noblest child of Raghu see,
Thy ministers and thralls are we.

‡ “Among the North American Indians, we hear of the Powhatans refraining from doing harm to certain small wood-birds which received the souls of their chiefs; of Huron souls turning into turtle-doves after the burial of their bones at the feast of the dead; of that pathetic funeral rite of the Iroquois, the setting-free of a bird on the evening of burial, to carry away the soul. In Mexico the Tlascalans thought that after death the souls

* Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 258.

† Griffith : *Rāmāyān*, vol. i, p. 145.

‡ Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 6.

of nobles would animate beautiful singing birds, while plebians passed into weasels and beetles and such-like vile creatures. In Brazil the Tecunas are said to have believed in the transmigration after death into man or brute; the Icannas say that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowards will be turned into reptiles. In Africa, again, mention is made of the Maravi thinking that the souls of bad men become jackals, and those of good men snakes. The Zulus, while admitting that a man may turn into a wasp or lizard, work out in the fullest way the idea of the dead becoming snakes, a creature whose change of skin has so often been associated with the thoughts of resurrection and immortality." The belief in transmigration appears again in ancient Egypt. It comes before us in the philosophy of Empedocles, in the teachings of Pythagoras; and as a possible explanation of the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, and of the inequalities of life, in the tentative and sceptical dialectics of Plato. To the Platonic Socrates, in the *Phædo*, as to the Hindu and Buddhist, philosophy is the only method of disengaging the soul from its successive embodiments. The souls of rapacious men and despots are to pass into the bodies of wolves or kites, those of men of uninquiring, unreflective social goodness, into the bodies of bees or ants; it is philosophy alone that purifies the soul, detaches it from the body and raises it to communion with the eternal and unchanging forms. In the vision of the future at the close of the Republic, bodies are chosen by souls after their periods of purgation in the turns they draw by lot. The spirit of Orpheus chooses the life of a swan; that of *Thamyra*, the life of a nightingale; that of the *Telamonian Ajax*, the life of a lion. The doctrine seems to have been derived by the earlier Greek philosophers from Egypt or from India, and to have been taken up by Plato for suggestive illustration and imaginative embellishment. It was adopted by the Jewish Cabalists in the *Gilgul neshāmoth*, or revolution of spirits, till their re-entrance into divine substance; and lingered long in Europe in the heresy of the Manichæans and of the sectaries that succeeded them. In the nineteenth century it reappears in the speculations of Fourier and Jean Reynaud.

The doctrine took a firmer hold upon the ancient Indian thinkers from its apparent explanation of the vicissitudes of life and the unequal allotment of earthly good and evil. *It

* "Nos âmes, avant d'apparaître, sur cette terre, ont vécu déjà dans d'autres mondes : car comment rendre compte autrement du mal physique et du mal moral ? Comment expliquer autrement que les hommes naissent dans des conditions si inégales, avec des prédispositions et des inclinations

si diverses ? Tout se comprend, au contraire, si l'on admet que nos âmes sont arrivées ici-bas chargées des fautes d'une vie antérieure : en ce sens nous avons tous commis le péché d'Adam, et nous l'expions tous." E. Poiton: *Les Philosophes Français contemporains*, p. 46 (J. Reynaud).

cleared the Demiurgus or supreme constructive intelligence from any charge of partiality and cruelty. If the strict follower of prescriptive custom is seen to suffer like other men, or even to suffer evils worse than others suffer, he is only eating the fruit of his actions in a former embodiment. These, or their abiding influences cling unseen to the tenuous involucrum, the *linga-sarīra*, the invisible transmigrating body, which made up of the vital, sensitive and intellective organism, is associated with the untransmigrating transcendent self, and passes through the series of visible and tangible bodies.

It was yet further strengthened by the conviction that self was the only thing which could be neither made nor unmade, the one reality, ingenerable and indissoluble. The distinction had been early taken between the permanent and the fluctuating, the real and the phenomenal. “* The notion of being, as distinguished from phenomenon, corresponds in its original signification with that which the mind conceives as permanent and unchangeable, in opposition to that which is regarded as transitory and fluctuating.” Henceforth two principles continued to rule the whole metaphysics of India. Firstly, that what is, has not ever not been, nor can it ever cease to be, the real is eternal, *ab ante et á post : Nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate satah : Οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι οὐδὲ φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων.*

† “In the world of permanence there is and can be no change, otherwise the permanent would not be permanent ; in the world of being there is and can be no change. All change is the cessation, or putting off, or not being, of one state or determination, and the putting on, or being, of another state or determination. But in the world of being there can be no not-being of any state or determination, because this is the sphere of pure unmixed being, and not-being is absolutely excluded from it. And, therefore, inasmuch as not-being is absolutely excluded from this sphere, and inasmuch as not-being is essential to constitute change, it follows that all change is necessarily excluded from this sphere. In other words in the world of being there is no change, no creation, no becoming ; that is, no coming into being and no going out of being ; here is a mere dead unvarying uniformity.” Secondly, that what is not constant, or eternal, is generable, mutable, dissoluble, has had a beginning and shall have an end, *παντὶ γενομένῳ φθορὰν εἶναι.* “If the world of change included being, it would include the permanent, because being and the permanent are identical ; but the permanent is excluded from the changeable by the very terms of the conception ; therefore being is excluded from the world of change ; in other words, in the world of change there is no being.” Now, self was the one constant

* Mansel : Metaphysics. p. 8.

vol. 1., p. 106, p. 108.

† Ferrier : Lectures and Remains.

and abiding fact in every act of knowledge, amidst all the fluctuation of the things known. Self then had had no beginning and should have no end. As it is known, it is associated with body, but to assume this body to have been the first to which it was allied, would be a wholly arbitrary proceeding.

* "Aristotle tells us that the ancient philosophers were afraid of nothing more than this one thing, that anything should have been made out of nothing pre-existent: and therefore they must needs conclude, that the souls of all animals pre-existed before their generations. And, indeed, it is a thing very well known that, according to the sense of these philosophers, these two things were always included together in that one opinion of the soul's immortality, namely, its pre-existence as well as its post-existence. And therefore the assertors of the soul's immortality commonly began here; first, to prove its pre-existence, proceeding thence afterward to establish its permanency after death. This is the method used in Plato: our soul was somewhere before it came to exist in this present human form, and from thence it appears to be immortal, and such as will subsist after death. And the chief demonstration of the soul's existence to the ancients before Plato was this, because it is an entity really distinct from body as matter and the modifications of it; and no real substantial entity can either spring of itself out of nothing, or be made out of any other substance distinct from it, because nothing can be made

ἐκ κενού ἐνυπάρχοντος ἢ-προϋπαρχόντος.

The apparent connection of the self with an organism and an extra-organic environment of objects ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference has proceeded from all eternity. Pleasure, pain, and indifference are the three *primordia rerum* of the Indian philosophers, the triple rope which confines the personal self to transmigratory experiences. They seem to have been equally facile in admitting the possibility of sensations apart from sentient beings and sensible things, with the most thorough-going modern experientialist. On the one side stands the absolute self, neither knowing, nor feeling, nor acting, nor suffering. On the other, pleasure, pain, indifference and all that emanates from them. And between them mediate certain common sensories or intellects, *per se* unconscious, and emanations from the unconscious *primordia*. It is only when the absolute self shines upon, or irradiates these intermediary intellects that consciousness and conscious activity come to light. The absolute self is not cognitive in our sense of the word cognitive, but illuminative. By its light all

* Cudworth: Intellectual System of the Universe, vol. 1., p. 70.

this world shines forth ; *tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti*. Consciousness and conscious activity arise in this manner, and continue only so long as the intellect, the senses, the vital breath, the body, are illusorily identified with the transcendent self. Identifying these with self, the transmigrating soul is actuated by desire and aversion, activity begets merit and demerit, merit and demerit necessitate further embodiments for the experience of the inevitable sequel of pleasures and pains. Births from works and works from births have proceeded in a recurring series from all eternity, like plants from seeds and seeds from plants, *vijān-kuranyāyena*. The object world or sphere of fruition of merits is co-eternal with the transmigrating souls. It exists only that they may eat in it the fruits of their past actions, and that they may strive to extricate themselves from it. Action uneaten dwindles not away in thousands of millions of æons : *nābhuktam kshīyate karma kalpa-koti-satair api*.

This sphere of fruition or environment of transmigrating souls is generable, changeable, dissoluble ; it is projected from, sustained by, retracted into its emanatory cause. It rolls like a wheel unceasingly :

* Nec perit in tanto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat ; nascique vocatur
Incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morique
Desinere illud idem : cum sint hac forsitan illa,
Hæc translata illuc : summâ tamen omnia constant.

“One is born, another dies, one passes beyond his troubles, another comes into an evil plight, uncompanioned : for father, mother, brother, son, and spiritual guide, his relatives, connections, friends, weep for a little space, then leave the lifeless body as it were a block, a clod, and depart with averted faces. Merit, and merit only, follows the body they forsake. Let men therefore still seek righteousness for their follow-traveller. Brought on its way by merit the soul shall rise to a high elysian state. Accompanied by demerit it shall pass to a place of torment. Therefore the wise should seek merit by riches rightly earned ; for merit is the only fellow-sojourner in a further life.”

To the earliest Indians, as painted in the Vedic hymns, life was satisfying and pleasurable enough. They besought the gods for their full hundred years of it, and for an after-life in the whole body. With the belief in transmigration came discontent and despondency. What had they to look forward to but grief and pain, broken it might be with intervals of pleasure itself empty and unsatisfying, the loss of those they loved, sickness, decay, and death, through an endless succession of embodiments. Each

* Ovid : Metamorphoses, xv., 255.

present suffering, intolerable as itself might be, must be expected again and again. Even the merit that gained a sojourn in elysium, or the rank of a deity, must sooner or later be exhausted, and the soul descend to some lower sphere of experience. The pleasures of a paradise are tainted with the fear of their expiry, and with the disparity of conditions even there. “*As the station attained by works in this world fails, even so fails the sphere won by sacred observances in a further state.” “†Surveying the spheres won by merit the Brahman should attain to exemption from desire.” A sojourn in a paradise is the highest reward offered to the observer of Brāhmanic ritual and prescriptive custom, but paradises and purgatories alike are but halting-places in the never-ending journey. Merits, equally with demerits, are to be shunned ; both alike necessitate further transmigration. ‡Merits and demerits are alike sin to the aspirant to the highest end of man, extrication from metempsychosis, the final cessation of pain, the isolation of self from all cognition, feeling, and action, the attainment of a state of pure indetermination, retraction into undifferentenced existence.

§ “Leaving undone the Vedic ritual, and doing that which he is forbidden to do, his spirit deluded by the things of sense, a man goes to a place of pain. Fulfilling the rites ordained and shunning that which is forbidden to him, a man shall pass into a pleasure-giving body in elysium and higher spheres. Not in these ordinances shall he find spiritual isolation with its exemption from all further embodiments ; for the reward of ordinances is generable and therefore transitory.

“Thus all the rites, the Jyotishtoma and the rest, have no power to carry a man to the further shore of this sea of metempsychosis. Skiffs for fishing at sea, little and unsteady, cannot cross to the land beyond, but fretted by the curling waves, fill with water, rock from side to side, seem about to sink, and fill those within with fear. So is it with these boats of sacrificial ordinances, drifting out upon the transmigratory sea tremulous to the waves of lust and wrath, frail, and fitted, only for the fishery of happiness in paradise and higher spheres. The rowers of those are the sacrificer and his wife, and the sixteen priests, the Adhvaryu and his fellows. No steersman is there, no self-mortifying spiritual guide, in those boats of ritual upon the sea of transmigrations, no favorable wind. Who would enter upon that sea trusting to boats so frail and every moment ready to founder of themselves? Let none in quest

* Chhândogya Upanishad, viii. 1.

† Mundaka Upanishad, 1, 2, 12.

‡ *Tarati pāpmānamd harmādhara-*

mākhya : Sankarāchārya, on Mundaka Upanishad, iii. 2, 9.

§ Atmapurāna, xvi. 68—95.

of real felicity seek to cross in these the sea of transmigrations, fitted as they are only for fishing for elysian joys. They that take them and joyously abide in them reach not to that further shore. Their skiff is upset by the waves of lust and anger, they rise and sink upon the waters of decay and death, undergoing countless sorrows, urged with unceasing weariness of these fleeting lives. Still upon the sea of transitory embodiments, upon the waters of illusion, like fishermen they spend their days in giving pain to living things. Foolish, and wise, in their own conceit doing evil to themselves and others, they drift to and fro upon that ocean of illusion. They know not that which they should do, they know not their own selves; by thousands they are *like the blind led by the blind. Led by the liturgist so these that know not their own selves, and that yearn after paradise, are upon that dreadful sea of passing states, upon the waters of illusion. Or of themselves ever the thralls of lust and wrath, like wretched beings possessed of evil spirits, they know not their own misery. Little-minded they think that they have all they can desire, and laugh and sing like evil things under the fatality of works. Infatuated by this fatality they find their highest image of felicity in the body, that haunted tree infested by the evil spirit of concupiscence. Rejoicing in the ruin of their enemies and in the prosperity of their friends, held fast by unconcern as by a monster of the sea, they know not that bliss that is the essence of their own souls. Thinking ordinances the highest good, engrossed in their passing lives, these all reap the fruit of their merits, till that failing at the last, they fall from bliss, with pain and sorrow. At the hour of death the rich with their children around them are filled with anguish: such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. At the hour of death great is the anguish of a thriving prince: such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. In paradise itself they are dependent and helpless. As in this world is the sorrow of the rich at the loss of their riches, such is the sorrow of the celestial sojourners at the loss of paradise. In the performance of the rites there is pain, in reaping the reward of the rites there is pain, at the exhaustion of the recompense there is the direful pain of being born again into the world. For into what shall the living soul pass upon its return from paradise, into a high, a middle, or a low embodiment, or shall it be born into a region of punishment?"

The early Indians had, as we have seen, searched for some

* This simile is taken, like that of the boat, from the Mundaka Upanishad. "Like the blind led by the blind they fall into a pit or amidst thorns and briars." Sankaracharya, *Mundakopanishadbhāṣya*, 1, 2, 8.

explanation, that is for some satisfying conception, of the origin of things, under the impulse of curiosity. The belief in transmigration gave a sharper stimulus to the search, that some escape might be found from that continuous succession of painful states, from the imagination of which they shrank with so much horror. How to extricate himself from further transmigration became henceforth the great concern of the wise man.

In seeking for an *ἀρχή*, a principle on which the mind could rest as having found unity in the infinitude of things, they had laid hold of that distinction between the one and the many, the real and the apparent, the permanent and the fluctuating, which was to determine all their future efforts. The one, the real, and the permanent, they identified with that which as unmanifested lies beneath the manifested, as infinite and unrelated, lies beyond the finite and related, necessitated to negative thought and withheld from positive conception.

In the world around them they found that everything was in ceaseless change and fluctuation, everything was generable and corruptible. And all these things were, they declared, ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference. That of which the environment of transmigrating souls was made, must be something of which these three, the cords which bound those souls, were the constituents. With the Sāṅkhyas, accordingly, the *ἀρχή* is an emanatory principle consisting of pleasure, pain, and indifference in a state of co-equality *gunatraya sāmāyāvastharupā prakritih*. With the Vedāntins the world is made of an illusion-projected illusion, an unreal unreality, pleasure, pain and indifference in a state of co-equality, illusorily overspread upon the impersonal self from time without beginning. This fictitious illusion or unreal unreality is *avidyā, trigunātmikā māyā gunatraya sāmāyam māyātattvam*.

But looking inwards they found something one and continuous amidst all the variety and fluctuation of phenomena. There they found not only modifications, but that which underlay the modifications, not only a plurality but a unity in which that plurality was contained and summed up. They declared therefore that the one, the real, was self, the impersonal or transcendent self, *ātman, Brahman, purusha*. To the Vedāntins its unity was absolute. It was "one only without a second." * "This self is absolute, there is nought before it, nor after it, nor within it, nor without it." To the Sāṅkhyas its unity, which as certified in S'ruti, the inscrutable revelation, they could not refuse, was community: there was a plurality of transcendent selves co-ordinate, but not co-identical. † "Self or the me is the common

* Chhāndogya Upanishad.

† Ferrier : *Institutes of Metaphysic*, p. 75.

centre, the continually known rallying-point, in which all our cognitions meet and agree. It is the *ens unum et semper cognitum in omnibus notitiis*. Besides the *ego* or oneself, there is no other identical quality in our cognitions—as any one may convince himself upon reflection. He will find that he cannot lay his finger upon anything except *himself* and say—“This article of cognition, I must know along with whatever I know.” The *ātman* or self of the Indian philosophers is, however, not the *ego* of which we are conscious, but the *ego* identified with the unmanifested, transcending consciousness.

Self, as real, is ingenerable and uncorruptible, without beginning and without end. It is not modified in cognition, feeling, and volition, for it is as real, unmodifiable. * Transcending the relation of subject and object, it is a † mass of objectless cognition. It is existent, intelligence, and beatitude: existent as the one and only imperishable being; intelligence as self-luminous, as giving light to all things, making to appear all that does appear; beatitude ‡ as exempt from all evil, pain, and sorrow. Ever pure, intelligent, and free: pure as § without desire and passionless, or as apart from illusory limitations, *nirupādhika*; intelligent, as irradiating all things; free as || unaffected by all transmigratory conditions. It abides apart from and beyond pleasure, pain, and indifference, the factors of all experience.

“It is not born, it never dies, it knows all, it proceeds from none, and none proceeds from it, unborn, eternal, undecaying, it perishes not when the body perishes.”

Self, as unmodifiable, neither knows, nor feels, nor desires, nor wills, nor acts, nor suffers. All the cognitions, feelings, and exertions, which the uninitiated attribute to the self, belong in truth to their *per se* unconscious intellects or common sensories. These intellects or internal organs are emanations from *prakṛiti* or *avidyā*. They are dark, or as we should say unconscious, until the light of the transcendent self is cast upon them. It is by reflexion upon, or juxtaposition to, these that the one impersonal self passes, unreally and in appearance only, into the many personal selves of this world of every-day experience. By the light of the transcendent self, which, be it ever remembered, is not cognitive but illuminative, the modifications of the common sensories, in themselves dark or unconscious, become luminous or conscious modifications. Self is the light of lights, beyond the darkness. ¶ “To it the sun gives no light, nor the moon and

* *Jñātrijneya bhārātirikta*.

† *Nitgām nirvishayan jñānam*,
Upadeś'asahadrī.

‡ Kena Upanishad, II. 18, partly
re-produced in Bhagavadgītā, II. 20.

§ *Sarvānāṛthaduhkhāyāsapranakī*,
Mundakopanishadbhāṣya.

|| *Kāmādidoshavarjita*, Padayojanikā.

¶ *Sarva-sansāra-dharmarahita*.

stars, nor the lightning, how then should fire? That as it shines all the world shines after, by the light of that all this world shines forth."

Individual souls or personal selves are the universal or impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, as in juxtaposition to, or mirrored upon, that is illusively identified with, the common sensories, or internal organs, so called as inclosed in the bodies of animated creatures. These internal or common sensories belong not to the real self, not to the absolute *ego*, but to the object world or environment of transmigrating souls. You, I, and others, are only the one impersonal self illusorily limited to this, that, or the other common sensory, and passing with the tenuous *involuca* from body to body. The absolute *ego*, the transcendent self illusorily limited by illusion, unreally conditioned by unreality, by that *māyā* that is co-eternal with itself, passes into innumerable personal *egos*, through the fatal operation of works, from time without beginning, in æon after æon. God is self,—not self *per se* but illusion-limited self. * "He should know that the emanatory *principium* is illusion and that the illuded is God, and that by the portions of that illuded one all this world is occupied." Diffused through the vital, sensitive, cognitive, and active organisms, which collectively make up the tenuous *involucra* the invisible integuments, *lingas'arīra*, of transmigrating souls, the illusion-conditioned self is Purusha, or Hiranyagarbha so-called either as contained within, or as containing, the mundane egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmānda*. Entering the gross or visible bodies of all sentiences the illusion-limited self is Virāt. Hiranyagarbha is also called the thread-soul, *sūtrātman*, as passing through all tenuous *involucra* like a thread. Thus, then, the absolute self passes into consciousness only in the totality of sentient beings or personal selves. God, as some of the Hegelians would say, is the universe in its higher manifestations.

To illustrate all this with the imagery of the Upanishads. The innumerable personal selves are to the one impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, like the many suns mirrored upon the ruffled surface of a sheet of water; like the many waters of the same stream; like the many rivers that rise from the sea to return to the sea again, their springs being constantly renewed with the waters which rise by evaporation from the ocean; like the many sparks which rise from, and disappear into, the same fire; like the ether occupying many water jars, which, when the jars are broken, passes beyond its apparent limitations into union with the ether indivisible and infinite.†

* Mundaka Upanishad, II, 2,—10, † S'vetā'vatara Upanishad, iv. 10 and Katha Upanishad, v. 15.

Illusorily associated with illusion self-imagined the absolute ego is that which differentiates into name and colour, the audible and visible, *nāmarūpavyākārtri*. From self thus illusorily-limited emanate all things like and unlike itself as sparks and smoke, like and unlike, proceed from fire; as things movable and immovable proceed from earth, as nails and hair insentient grow from sentient man. Upon the transcendent self the whole flow of transmigratory states, the whole world of experience, is illusorily superposed by that indefinable illusion, which has imagined itself from all eternity. “*Illusion neither entity nor nonentity, nor both in one, inexplicable as real or unreal, fictitiously existent from and to all eternity.” All that presents itself to the personal self in its series of embodiments lies unreal above the real, like the blueness of the sky which we see there though there it is not, like the waters of a mirage, like the visions of the dreaming phantasy, like the airy fabric of a reverie, like a bubble on the surface of a stream, like the silver seen on the shell of the pearl-oyster, like the snake that the belated wayfarer sees in a piece of rope, like the gloom that encircles the owl amidst the noonday glare. The soul lies pent with the body as in a prison, illusion-bound. All the stir of daily life is like the gliding of the trees upon the river bank past the listless spectator in a boat that floats down the stream. All that is known, and done, and suffered, in life after life is the phantasmagory of a waking dream.

The silver seen upon the shell is, according to the Vedāntins, actually *seen* there, it is an object of presentative consciousness. Unreal silver has come into being. It is made of illusion, the mental representation of silver formerly perceived being merely a concurrent condition of its genesis. Its apparent existence is terminable by knowledge, by the recognition of the shell which is its illusory support. This termination of an unreal precept by knowledge is technically called its sublation, *bādha*. The doctrine of unreal production is technically called *asatkhyāti*, cognition of the unreal. It is opposed to the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas styled *anyathākhyāti*, cognition of a thing otherwise than as it is, the cognition of a thing under other modes or attributes than those which it really possesses. All the objects of our every-day experience are terminable by knowledge, like the silver on the shell, like the snake in the rope. They, too, have been illusorily superposed upon the real, the one and only impersonal self. They

* *Nāsaḥ rūpā na sadrūpā māyā naivobhayātmikā, sadasadbhyām anirvāchyā, mithyābhūtā sanātanī : Sān khyapravachanabhāṣya*, compare the kind of being allowed in the Platonic philosophy to the fluctuating parti-

culars of sense apart from the eternal forms of the reason: τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλῶν τό περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεταξύ πού κυλινδρεῖται τοῦ τεμῆ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ὄντος εἰλικρινῶς.

are to be sublated by knowledge. The illusion from which they issue is relative to the unity of all personal souls in the absolute *ego*. They are to be sublated, the whole series of transmigratory states is to be brought to a close, for this or that personal soul, by the knowledge of the unity of all personal selves in the one transcendent self. The existence of the silver on the shell, of the snake in the rope, of the waters in the mirage, is merely apparent, which may be sublated by every-day knowledge, *prātibhāsikī sattā*; the existence of the things about which we are conversant in our daily life, is a conventional existence, an existence allowed by common sense, which may be sublated by transcendent knowledge, *vyāvahārikī sattā*; the existence of the one and only real, of the impersonal self, or absolute *ego*, which cannot be sublated, is real existence, *pāramarthikī sattā*. From the higher point of view the existence of the silver on the shell, and of the silver of the coin which passes from hand to hand, is alike fictitious.

Here, then, is the *fons et origo mali*, the root of pain, the source of metempsychosis. Self has been illusorily associated from all eternity with an inexplicable illusion, the real has been unrealy overspread with unreality. Thus illuded self, through the retributive fatality of merits and demerits, from time without beginning has identified itself with that which is not self, with the body, with the senses, with the intellect. Hence it has been implicated, as innumerable personal selves, in unreal cognition, action, and passion, through life after life. * "From death to death, he goes who looks on this as manifold." And the disparate allotment of all this apparent experience has been determined by the retributive fatality of works; births from works, and works from births from time without beginning, as plant from seed and seed from plant. The process of the creation or evolution of this world, or place of fruition of merits for transmigrating souls, is as follows. From the illusorily determined impersonal self first emanates ether, from ether air, from air light, from light water, from water earth. From these in their imperceptible state, the subtle elements, emanate the tenuous *involucra* of transmigrating souls, made up of the five cognitive and five active organs, the intellect, the cogitant principle *manas*, and the five vital airs. The intellect together with the cognitive organs is the sensational wrapper, *vijnānamayakosa*. The cogitant principle together with the five active organs is the sensorial wrapper, *manomayakosa*. The five vital airs together with the active organs make up the vital wrapper, *prānamayakosa*. These three wrappers together make up the tenuous *involucrum* of the transmigrating spirit, which accompanies it through all its

* *Mrityoh sa mrityam eti ya ihah naneva pasyati.*

wanderings. * The individual soul is the absolute self illusorily limited to this or that subtle frame to which adhere illusion, and its resultant desires, actions, and merits and demerits. The totality of these subtle bodies is the tenuous *involucrum* of Hiranyagarbha. From the subtle elements, emanate with successive degrees of complexity, the gross or perceptible elements; from ether with the quality of sound, air, with the qualities of sound and tangibility; from air light, with the qualities of sound, tangibility and colour; from light water, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour and taste; from water earth, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour, taste, and smell. Each later element contains in it portions of each earlier element in the series, and the progressive complication is technically called quintuplication, *panchi-karana*. From these gross elements emanate the spheres of fruition of deserts for transmigrating souls, and the mundaue egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmānda*, and the bodies of the various sentiences that people it. The absolute Ego as illusorily limited to the totality of visible bodies or gross integuments of the transmigrating, personal selves, is the spirit of humanity, Vaisvānara, so called as illusorily identifying itself with the totality of the souls of mankind; and also styled Virāt. These visible bodies are the nutritive wrapper of the transmigrating soul, its "muddy vesture of decay."

From metempsychosis there is but one mode of extrication. Illusion, with its enveloping and projective powers, has hidden from the self its real, and impersonal unity, and spread out that world of painful experiences, through which it passes in bondage, through the fatality of works. Merits, as we have seen, equally with demerits, serve but to prolong its slavery, the series of its embodiments, except in so far as they effect that purification of the intellect which is requisite in the aspirant to liberation. The fulfilment of revealed and traditional ordinances is relative to the states of fruition. † It leaves the curtain which veils the absolute still unlifted. The personal self can be delivered only by a knowledge of its own transcendent reality, a knowledge of the unity of all individual souls in the universal self that is for ever absolved from all transmigratory experiences. Knowledge of the absolute Ego is the only means of liberation. "He passes beyond sorrow that knows the transcendent self," ‡ "he that knows the absolute becomes the absolute," "being the absolute he goes to the absolute." Even this highest of cognitions, this intuition of the absolute self, is but a modification of the purified intellect,

* *Avidyākāmakārma vāsanānām asraya lingam upadhir yasyātmanah sa jivah. Ānanda-giri.*

† Vedāntachiumous *passim*.
‡ *Tarati sokam ātmavit. Brahma-vid brahmaiva bhavati.*

which must itself pass away, as the finite souls attain to isolation, to pure indetermination, to retractation, into undifferentenced existence. On the side of this cognition all works but those in actual operation, those that determine the present embodiment, are burnt up in the fire of transcendent knowledge. * "There is no purification equal to that of knowledge." The aspirant, liberated while yet living *jivan-mukta*, must wait a little till his present body perishes, to enter into the one and only being.

The *karmavidyā* or knowledge of ordinances is requisite to the purification of the intellect of the aspirant to liberation. It is prerequisite to the *brahma-vidyā* or knowledge of the impersonal self, the only means of extrication from metempsychosis. "Brahmā," says the Mundaka Upanishad, "emanated first of all the deities, the maker of the universe, the sustainer of the world. He declared the knowledge of the absolute *ego*, the cognition that contains all cognitions, to his eldest son Atharvan. The knowledge of the impersonal soul which Brahma had declared to Atharvan, Atharvan declared of old to Angis. He delivered to Satyavaha the Bhāradvāja, and Satyavāha to Angiras that knowledge of the highest and the lowest. S'āunaka the great householder approached Angiras with all prescriptive formality, and inquired: *What, holy Sir, must be known that ALL this may be known?* To him S'unaka said: Two sciences, they that know the Veda tell us, must be known, the inferior and the superior. Of these the inferior is the Rig-veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody and astronomy. The superior is that by which that undecaying is attained. That which none can see, and none can handle, that which has no family, and no colour, that which has neither eyes nor ears, nor hands, nor feet, infinitely diversified, everywhere present, altogether imperceptible, that is the imperishable which sages behold as the source of all. As the spider projects and retracts its threads, as plants spring up upon the earth, as from the living man grow the hairs of the head and body, so from the imperishable emanates this universe. With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. Thence nutriment emanates; from nutriment the vital air, the thinking organ, the elements, the spheres, and upon works the never-dying principle. From that knowing all and knowing everything, of which the self-coercion is knowledge, emanates Brahmā, and name and form, and the undeveloped."

What must be known, that all this may be known? What, as Sankārācharya explains the question, is the one emanatory prin-

* *Brahmaiva san brahmaiva bhavati Nāsti jñānaśamam pavitram.*

ciple from which all the diversity in the world proceeds? by knowing what we should know all things, as in the existing order of things, all individuals, individual pieces of gold for example are known, if we know the universals under which they are contained, the nature of gold and the like? The all-explaining principle must be the highest universal, the *summum genus*, and this is pure being, undifferentenced existence, identified with the transcendent self. “*The very conception of reducing the diversified exuberance, the infinite plenitude of Nature, to the unity of one principle, showed a speculative boldness which proved that a new intellectual era was dawning on mankind. To perceive that truth was to be found in the one, and not in the many, was no insignificant discovery. To be convinced that a thread of simplicity ran through all the complex phenomena of the universe was the inauguration of a new epoch—was a great step taken in advance of all that had gone before—was, in fact, the very first movement which gave birth to science among men.” “To set forth being as the universal, as that in which all things are identical, to declare that being is the truth of the universe; this, to us who live in these latter times, may seem to be a very trivial and un instructive dogma. But we have to remember that we, as soon as we were born, have entered on an inheritance of thoughts and of words from which these early thinkers were altogether cut off. They had to think out and to devise what we find already thought out and devised to our hand.”

†The inferior science is conversant about the conditions and results of merit and demerit, it is a knowledge of works, *Karma-vidyā*. This is set out in the Rig-veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda and the Vedāngas. It has to do only with injunctions and prohibitions, and has no power to put a stop to illusion and the other imperfections from which transmigration results. The superior science is the knowledge of the impersonal self, to ‡be received from a traditionary spiritual director, and requiring as a preliminary indifference to all objects, to all means and ends. It is set out in the Upanishads, which are so called as annulling all further birth, decay, sickness and other miseries in those that apply themselves with all their soul to the knowledge of the transcendent self; or as bringing individual souls into union with the universal soul; or as abolishing illusion or one or other of the other causes of metempsychosis.

With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. The self-coercion of the absolute *ego* is a cognition, a contemplation of the things to be brought into being, that the personal

* Ferrier: Lectures and Remains vol. 1. p. 40, and page 92.

hadbhāshya

‡ Guruprasāda-labhya.

† Sankarāchārya: Mundakopanis-

selves, into which under its illusory limitations the absolute *ego* passes, may have fruition of their good and evil works. Thence nutriment emanates. Nutriment is the pabulum of transmigrating souls, the pleasure or pain of which they are to have fruition through the retributive fatality of works. It is the undeveloped matter of the various states to be assigned to the personal selves in their successive embodiments. This nutriment, the undeveloped, the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the forthcoming environments of individual souls, emanates from the impersonal *ego* passing into manifestation through knowledge and the power of projecting, sustaining, and retracting all sentiencies and their surroundings. "Out of this undeveloped or undifferenced, about to be differenced, and from the absolute *ego*, emanates Hiranyagarbha, the soul of the universe, presiding with knowledge, activity and power, over all the environments of transmigrating souls, the germinating seed of the totality of things existent through illusion, desire, and retributive fatality."

This undeveloped or as yet formless state of things, is illusion in its state of retraction into the undifferenced self, *pralayā-vasthāpannāvidyā*. It is the later interpretation of the chaos the Nāsadiya-sūkta, in which "nonentity was not, nor entity." It is treated of in detail, with special reference, as the scholiast says, to that hymn, in the sixteenth chapter of the Ātma-purāna: "This was darkness, unperceived, characterless, unthinkable, unspeakable, dormant everywhere. Nonentity was not that which is now called non-existence: nor was entity that which is now styled existence. This covering of darkness was not the darkness which is exclusive of light. Before the creation, or evolution of things, ether and the other elements did not exist, nor day, nor night, nor the morning and evening twilights, nor the sun and other luminaries, nor the four kinds of living creatures. The emanatory *principium* was then a mass of darkness, neither like death, nor deathless, nor as yet illuding its own self. The material of name and form in the transmigratory environments, the undeveloped, the uncaused cause, knowable only from sacred institutes, was uncharacterised as yet. The material which has a *quasi* existence, but no real being, which is an entity without beginning, yet terminable by knowledge of the absolute *ego*; the material of the implication and actuation of the unimplicated and inactive self, dependent and unconscious, and marked with other unthinkable characters:—From that, from the near proximity of the impersonal self, emanated Hiranyagarbha, supreme among personal selves, proclaimed to be the totality of individual spirits. This supreme soul dwells in the eleven organs, the vital air, and the five subtile elements. From that emanated the five gross elements, and the supreme illusorily identifying himself with them is Virāt.

Residing in these gross elements the Creator of the world desired the mundane egg for his envelopment; and, through the efficacy of his desire, emanated that egg resting upon the waters, golden, brilliant as ten million suns, containing within it the seven worlds, containing time. The primeval Brahmā himself, the progenitor of the worlds, arose within that golden egg from Meru the bud of the earth-lotus."

A translation and analysis of the Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rig-veda, x. 129, according to the exposition of Sāyana, will further serve to show how the later Indian theosophy grew out of, or was grafted upon, the speculations of the ancient Rishis. It will serve at the same time as a further elucidation of the doctrines of the Vedānta. It must be premised that the environment of transmigrating souls being, like those souls, and the blind and fatal retribution of their works from all eternity, the world* has passed through creation or evolution, sustentation and resolution, or retractation into undifferentenced existence, through an infinite progress of æons. Sāyana tells us that the Nāsadiya-Sūkta first exhibits the state of things in which a former world has been dissolved, and a later world not yet evolved, the state of retractation, *nirasta-samasta-prapanchā pralayāvasthā*. "Nonentity was not, nor entity, no worlds were there, no sky above. What covered? Where? In the receptacle of what? Was it water, the deep abyss?" The primary material, *mūla-kārana*, of the transmigratory environment was not in that state of retractation a nonentity. It was not a purely chimerical thing, an absurdity, such as the horns of a hare. From such a principle the existing world could not have emanated. It was not entity: it was not a reality like the absolute Ego. The primary material was neither nonentity nor entity, but inexplicable, a thing of which nothing can be intelligibly predicated. No denial of *all* real existence is intended, it being said further on: That one breathed without afflation. Real existence is denied, not of the impersonal self, but of the mundane illusion, *māyā*. Conventional or common-sense existence is next denied of the world in that

* Cf. Herbert Spencer: *First Principles*, p. 537.

"Apparently the universally co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion, which, as we have seen, necessitate rhythm in all the minor changes throughout the universe, also necessitate rhythm in the totality of its changes—produce now an immeasurable period during which the attractive forces predominating, cause universal concentration, and then an immeasurable period during which

the repulsive forces predominating cause universal diffusion—alternate eras of evolution and dissolution. And thus, there is suggested, the conception of a past during which there have been successive evolutions analogous to that which is now going on; and a future during which successive other such evolutions may go on—ever the same in principle but never the same in concrete result."

state of retraction. No worlds were there : the seven lower places of fruition, from the nethermost up to the world in which we live then were not. No sky above : the seven higher places of fruition from the space between the earth and the sun up to the place of Brahmā then were not. The mundane egg, the shell of the starry universe, had not emanated from the illusorily limited absolute self. The elements had not come into existence to cover or illusorily overspread the transcendent self. In the receptacle of what? There were no personal or transmigrating selves in the pleasurable and painful experience of which those overspreading elements could reside. Creation or evolution is for the fruition of merits by transmigrating souls. It is only in the state of evolution that the elements illusorily overspread the spheres of fruition, but in the state of dissolution now under description all personal souls had been merged into the one impersonal, through the retraction of their illusory adjuncts. There were then no places of fruition, no souls passing through pleasures and pains. There was no water, no fathomless abyss of misery. The text is relative to an intermediate state of universal dissolution. —

“Death was not, then no immortality, no distinction between night and day. That one breathed without afflation by the self-supported ; other than that there was naught, beyond it nothing.” In the state of universal retraction the retractator, here spoken of, death, did not exist. All the merits and demerits of all transmigrating souls, which by their ripening had determined in those souls experience of pleasure and pain, having been exhausted by fruition, there was no longer any end for which the world of transmigratory conditions should exist. There had, therefore, arisen in the mind, the illusory adjunct, of the Creator, the purpose of retracting it. He accordingly retracts the world, his illusory adjunct is retracted, and he is no longer the retractator, but pure indifferenced existence. Time itself, in which all things are contained, no longer existed : there was no distinction of day and night. There was neither sun, nor moon, nor day nor night, nor month, nor year. That one breathed without afflation. Apart from its illusory adjunct the absolute *ego* has no breath, as the text says: Without vital air, without cogitant organ, pure. Breathing is literally predicable only of the personal or illusion-limited *ego*. When, therefore, breathing is attributed to that principle set out in all the Upanishads, it is added that its breathing was without afflation. The absolute *ego* had not as yet passed into innumerable personal souls. The words by the self-supported are added, lest it should be urged that the absolute *ego*, as apart from illusory adjuncts, can have no connection with illusion, and that therefore an independently existing emanative

principle such as that the Sāṅkhyas contend for must be supposed. *The self-supporting is illusion, as self-posed, self-contained. With that self-posed illusion, the absolute *ego* is in a state of non-separation. It is not *really* associated with illusion, but an unreal connection with illusion is illusorily superposed upon the absolute *ego*, in the same manner as unreal silver is illusorily superposed upon the shell of the pearl-oyster in the familiar illustration. There is an *appearance* of union between the cosmical illusion and the transcendent reality, but this is only for the unreflective, a fact of common sense or unrectified experience. To the reflective, the illusion is unintelligible, the transcendent self is real. † There was nothing else than it or beyond it: there was no world of elements and elemental things ulterior to the illusion-associated transcendent self.

"Darkness there was wrapped in darkness; in the beginning all this was undistinguishable water: that which was full of unreality, that one by the power of contemplation came into being." Before its evolution this world was involved in darkness, as all things at night are covered with darkness. Entitative illusion, *māyā*, is here called darkness, because it overspreads and conceals the absolute *ego*. ‡ The evolution of the universe is its emersion out of this darkness or illusion under name and form. The world has thus pre-existed in its material cause, and the teaching of the Naiyāyikas and Vaisesikas, that, in the genesis of things a hitherto non-existent thing is brought into existence, is thus discountenanced. All things have pre-existed from everlasting in their causes, yet there were in the state of universal dissolution, no worlds; there was darkness, that is, there was entitative illusion called darkness, the emanatory principle, with which its emanatory effects were then identical. All this was undistinguishable, the world was not distinctly cognisable under name and form as it is in its state of conventional existence, the state that is, in which, as at present, it has an existence sufficient for the transactions of every-day life. Water, *salila*, means either that things were then refunded into their causes, or that there was nothing to which they could be likened. The world was undistinguishable from the darkness or illusion, as water mixed with a certain proportion of milk, is undistinguishable from milk. It was full of unreality, over-spread with illusorily projected illusion, neither entity nor nonentity. That one, the totality of things as yet residing unified in their cause, emanated by the power of contemplation, through the efficacy of the survey of the things about to be created by the creative spirit.

* *Srasmin dhīyate, dhriyate, āsritya nāsīt.*
vartata iti svadhā māyā.

† *Māyā sahitāh Brāhman's nyat nāma ūpābhyām yadāvirbhavanam*
kinchana bhūtabhantikātmakam jagan tad evar tasya janmety uchyate.

‡ *Achchhāḍakatvāt tasmāt tamaso*

That the self-coercion ascribed to the illusorily-limited absolute self, is a contemplation of things, is revealed in another text: Who knows all, who knows everything; whose self-coercion is contemplation."

"Desire arose in the beginning thereof; the first germ of the mind from which it came into being: sages having searched with the intellect in the heart have found this the tie which binds entity to nonentity." In the state of universal dissolution antecedent to the evolution of the world, desire, the creative volition, arose in the mind of the Creator, the illusorily-limited absolute *ego*. The first germ of the mind, the good and evil actions of a past æon, still in their residues resided in the common sensories of transmigrating souls, re-absorbed as those common sensories had been into illusion, and these were the germ of the evolution now to take place. This was the motive from which the creative purpose arose in the mind of the Creator, it being he who assigns to transmigrating souls their several kinds of fruition, who is the universal witness, and who presides over the retributive fatality of works. As soon as the creative purpose had arisen, he contemplated that which had to be created, and proceeded to project the universe, the whole series, that is to say, of environments of transmigrating spirits. Sages, mystics who know all things past, present, and to come, having searched with the intellect fixed by abstraction upon the heart,* in which the transcendent self has its site, have discovered that the works of transmigrating souls in a former æon are the tie, the causal nexus that binds the world which we now know to exist, to the non-existent, to its unreal emanatory cause as yet undeveloped.

"The ray which was stretched out, was it across these, was it above, or was it below? There were generative beings, there were mighty things, the nutriment below, the energising love above." Illusion, volition, and retributive fatality, have been pointed out as the concurrent causes of the evolution of the series of transmigratory conditions called the universe. The rapidity of their causal action is next indicated. The totality of created things, ether and all the succeeding emanations, diffused themselves instantaneously, as the rays of the rising sun spread in a moment through all space. These followed one another, and filled all space like a flash of lightning. Hence the question whether their first position was above, below, or intermediate. Of these emanations some were generative beings, the individuated souls that create and experience that retributive fatality which is the germ of things; others were objects, the vast principles, ether and the

* The absolute *ego* is said in the Upanishads to reside in the interior cavity of the heart.

rest, which make up the environments of transmigrating souls. It was in this manner that the supreme spirit, associated with illusion, projected the world, and himself passing into it, created the difference of souls and their objects of fruition. Of these souls and these objects, the nutriment or pabulum of transmigrating spirits, the object world, was below, that is, inferior; the energising soul, the spirits transmigrating for the fruition of their works, above, that is, superior. The world of things was created as a supplementation to the world of souls.

"Who truly knows, who here shall declare whence it emanated, whence this diversified creation? The gods are later than this evolution. Therefore who knows whence it emanated?" The evolution is, the Rishi says, hard to trace, and for this reason is not described in greater detail. Who knows, who can state in detail, from what emanatory, and from what operative cause, this visible universe emanated, with all its diversity of elements and elemental things, of transmigrating souls and their environments of pleasure and pain? The deities themselves are subsequent to this emanation of things, and can neither know nor describe the evolution of a world anterior to their own creation. If the gods have not this knowledge, what human being knows the emanatory principle of all this universe?

"This various creation, whence it came into being, whether He upholds or upholds it not, who knows? He, who is its overseer in the highest heaven, He truly knows, none other knows." As the illusion-limited absolute self, the deity, is the illusive emanatory cause of the universe and all its rich diversity of forms, so is He alone its sustainer. Perhaps the Rishi is further setting out the difficulty of conceiving the creation. Who knows whence this various creation sprang? No man knows. Some have erroneously supposed that the universe has never been otherwise than it now is. Who knows that supreme spirit, from which, as its illusory emanative cause, the universe proceeded? No man knows it. Hence, in their error, the Sāṅkhyas ascribe its genesis to the plastic principle, *Prakṛiti*, and the Naiyāyikas to ultimate particles or atoms. That that supreme spirit, the illusory emanative cause, himself created it, as its operative cause, who knows, or whether he created it not? Who knows him? Not knowing him the Sāṅkhyas have taught that the world, or series of environments of transmigrating souls, emanated of itself from their unconscious ultimate principle, *pradhāna*. That that supreme spirit was its illusive emanatory cause, who knows? No man knows it. The Naiyāyikas have taught that a Demiurgus standing apart from and other than its emanatory cause has fabricated the universe. It will be asked: If the genesis of things is so incomprehensible, how shall it be known at all? The Rishi states that the Veda is the instrument

of knowledge in this matter. He that is the overseer of this universe, the Lord, or illusorily-limited absolute *ego*, in the highest heaven, * in self-luminousness, pure as ethereal space, or in his essence of beatitude unsurpassable, or in the expanse unlimited by time, space, and things, or in himself as determinate cognition, he knows it, or perhaps he knows it not. The Lord alone, the illusorily-limited impersonal self, omniscient, knows the creation of things, and none else knows it.

Such is Mādhavachārya's exposition of this obscure hymn. It is with little violence interpreted in the language of the fully systematised Vedānta. It appears to contain, if it does not very explicitly enounce, the cosmical conception unfolded in the Upanishads. To cite the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 2): "Existent only, fair youth, was this in the beginning, one only, without a second. Some indeed have said: Non-existent only was this in the beginning: from that non-existent the existent proceeded. But how, I pray, fair youth, should it be so? How could the existent proceed from the non-existent? Existent only, then, was this in the beginning, one only without a second. That desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. That evolved heat, that heat desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. It evolved water, therefore wherever and whenever a man is heated or sweats, moisture proceeds from that heat. The waters desired: Let us become many, let us pass into becoming. So desiring they evolved aliment. Therefore wherever and whenever it rains, much aliment is produced." "This which is now the universe," says Sankarāchārya, "was before its creation to be known only under the name and notion of pure being; for prior to its evolution a thing cannot be cognised as having name and form. The condition of things was like that of one who sleeps without dreaming, for when he wakes up he is cognisant of a foregone state of undifferentenced existence, cognisant that he was pure being. This pre-existence of things as undifferentenced entity may be illustrated by a familiar example. A man in the morning sees a potter at work upon a lump of clay with the purpose of making it into pots and pans. He proceeds on his way to another villagie, and returns in the afternoon. On seeing in the same place a variety of pots and pans, he pronounces that they were earlier in the day all alike clay. This was one only: there was nothing else in existence as an effect emanative from it. This was one only, without a second: there were no other causes co-operative with pure being and ulterior to it, such as the potter in the familiar example, who is the operative cause

* *φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον* :

"Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light.
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight."

moulding the clay into the form of the jar or other product. We are not like the logicians, the Naiyāyikas and Vaiseshikas, who imagine that over and above pure being there are other entities, and that these have no existence before their production and after their dissolution. We do not allow any predicate or anything predicable at any time or in any place, except pure being. Whatever predication is made is made of undifferentenced existence. Whatever is predicated of it is predicated under some illusory conception, as under illusory conceptions snake is predicated of rope, and lump or jar is predicated of clay; but the name and notion of the illusory educt cease for those that know its indifference from real being, just as in every-day life the name and notion of snake cease for any one that recognises the rope, and the name and notion of jar cease for any one that recognises the clay. Thus the texts from which words turn back with the mind, not reaching it, ineffable, unlocalised, &c."

We may now pass to Mādhava's explanation of the Purusha-sūkta, the hymn mentioned above, which ascribes the genesis of things to the sacrifice of Purusha by the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis. Purusha, says Mādhava, is the conscious, that is, the self-luminous, illuminant principle, distinct from the undeveloped, from intellect, and the rest; and naught else exists but Purusha.

"A thousand heads has Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet; he compassing the earth on every side stood ten fingers' breadth beyond it." Purusha is Virāt, otherwise Vaisvānara, the spirit of humanity, the totality of all transmigrating souls, whose body is the whole round of mundane things. * He has innumerable heads, the heads of all living creatures forming part of his body, and being therefore his. Thus also it is that he has a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. This Purusha encircled the whole round of things, and stood two hand-breadths beyond it, filled, that is to say, all space outside the spherical cosmos. "Purusha only is all this, which has been, which is to be; the lord also of immortality, since he grows up with nutriment." All this present world, and every past and future world, is Purusha, and Purusha only. As in this æon, so in past and future æons, the bodies of all transmigrating spirits are portions of Purusha. He is the lord of immortality or of divine nature, inasmuch as this world is not his real nature. He grows up with food that is, he passes out of his condition as emanatory *principium* into his visible condition as the world, on the occasion of nutriment, the pabulum of pleasure and pain to be distributed to transmigrating souls. He assumes the form of the universe only that they may have fruition of their works. It is not his real nature.

* The reader may compare with this the picture prefixed to Hobbes' *Leviathan*.

"Such is his greatness, and greater than this is Purusha: a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky." All environments of transmigrating souls, past, present, and to come, are the greatness, the power, of Purusha, not his real essence. In his real nature Purusha immeasurably transcends all these. All sentiences in all time are but a quarter of him: the remaining three-quarters are that which is immortal, indissoluble, real, in the sky, in his self-luminous essence. Portions, quarters, cannot be literally ascribed to the impartite transcendent self, the "true knowledge, infinite, absolute." They are attributed to Purusha only to indicate the insignificance of all worlds in comparison with the real essence of the impersonal *ego*. "With three quarters he rose upwards, a quarter of him was here; thence he went out in all directions into the sentient and insentient." Purusha, in three portions identical with the essence of the absolute *ego*, and exempt from transmigratory conditions, rose upwards, remained outside the universe, outside the environments of transmigrating souls; untouched by the qualities and imperfections of this world. A quarter, a particle of him, was here, was implicated in illusion, engaged again and again in the projection and retractation of the world. Thus entering into illusion he went forth, or filled all space, in his various forms, as gods, as men, as animals, and as all other things. He passed into plurality, and there arose the two orders of sentiences engaged in the apparent matters of daily life, and insentient things, as mountains, rivers, and other objects.

"From him emanated Virāt,—Purusha is above Virāt: having become Virāt he multiplied himself, creating the earth and then bodies." From the primeval spirit Purusha emanated Virāt, the universal soul of which the whole round world is the body, so-called because it is in him that shine all the various things that are. Purusha was above Virāt; he illusorily identified himself with the body of Virāt, and became a living soul. The selfsame supreme spirit proclaimed in the Vedāntas or Upanishads, of himself and with his own illusion, projected the round of things, the body of Virāt entered into it as personal self, became the divine soul that illusorily identifies itself with the whole round of things. Having become Virāt Purusha multiplied himself, passed into the form of gods, men, animals, and the rest. After becoming the personal selves of gods and other transmigrating souls, he created the earth, and after the earth, the bodies to be tenanted by those personal selves.

"When the gods performed sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the sacrificial cake." After bodies had been created, the gods in order to accomplish the further evolution of things, external objects not

having yet come into being, proceeded to offer mental sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation. The sacrifice could not be made without an oblation, and they represented the essence of Purusha in their thoughts as the oblation. They imaged the spring as the sacrificial butter, summer as the fuel, autumn as the cake. They first mentally offered up Purusha as the total oblation, then spring, summer, and autumn, as the constituents of the oblation.

"This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they sacrificed; with him the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis made their sacrifice." This Purusha notionally presented as the victim bound to the sacrificial stake, they immolated in mental sacrifice. Their victim was Purusha who had come into being before all creation. The sacrificers were the gods, the Sādhyas, Prājāpati and others so-called as able to create, *srishti-sādhānayogya*, and the Rishis, they that saw the hymns.

"From that universal sacrifice were produced curds and clarified butter. He formed the aerial creatures, and the animals wild and domesticated." The universal sacrifice was that in which was sacrificed Purusha identical with the totality of things. From that mental offering were produced curds and clarified butter, and all other edible things. Aerial creatures are those of the transmigratory environments presided over by the wind-gods. That living creatures are through the middle air presided over by the wind-gods is revealed in the Yajur-brāhmaṇa. Wild animals are antelopes and the like; domesticated animals are cattle and the like. "From that universal sacrifice proceeded the hymns called Rik and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. From it proceeded horses, and all animals that have two rows of teeth, and cows, and goats, and sheep. When they cut up Purusha into how many parts did they dissever him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? The Brāhman was his mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms, the Vaisya was his thighs, the Sūdra sprang from his feet. The moon was produced from his soul, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet the earth; from his ears the regions: so they fashioned the worlds. Seven were the wooden frames around, thrice seven the pieces of fuel, when the gods laying out the sacrifice, bound Purusha as the victim. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the victim. Those were the first rites. Those great beings attain the heaven where the ancient Sādhyas, the gods abide." Thus the gods, the vital breath of Prajāpati, worshipped the victim Prājāpati with mental sacrifice. From that worship proceeded those first, those highest, rites, which uphold the changing manifestations, which constitute the states of transmigratory expe-

rience. Those great beings, the votaries of Virāt, attain that heaven in which the ancient worshippers of Virāt reside.

It seems evident enough that the traditional explication of these earliest specimens of Indian speculation represents nothing else than the results into which they ripened, and is to that extent the legitimate expression of the conceptions which they embody. The absolute *egoism* of the Upanishads, and of the systematised Vedānta, is really the natural outgrowth of these uncouth and barbarous utterances. These utterances are again the natural outgrowth of the primitive worship of the elemental deities. The Vedānta has a prescriptive right to the first place among the Indian systems. * "The question in debate regarded nothing less than the origin and subsequent revolutions of things :—and the effort, doubtless of these sages, was to supply to the speculative mind something answering to the vague affirmations of the popular creed. Hence they perpetually kept these superstitions in view, and made it a constant aim to harmonise their physics with the public theology,—to make their cosmogonies an explanation of the theogonies of the poetical faith."

Self, absolute self, in association with some unintelligible principle neither existent, nor non-existent, was to the earliest Indian theorists, the sum of all, that from which the totality of things had issued, that into which it might be ideally refunded. Self is the one and only real. Self is being, not-self is non-being but non-being has a kind of fictitious existence, an existence sufficient to account for all that goes on in daily life, sufficient for the common sense of the unreflective many, insufficient to the inquiry of the reflective few. How closely this construction of the totality of things approximates to that of the Eleatics is by this time plain enough. † "The antithesis of the one and the many, the intelligible and the sensible, the permanent and the changeable, has passed in the Eleatic school into that of being and not-being. The next movement of thought in dealing with this relation is the question, does not-being exist? Is there any not-being at all? It is difficult to state in precise terms how the Eleatics answered this question. In the first part of his poem, Parmenides seems to maintain that there is no not-being; in the second part of it he accords to not-being a sort of spurious existence. In fact, answer the question in either way, and the difficulties that arise are insuperable. Suppose we say that there is no not-being, then the whole material world, all sensible existence, is annihilated, for this is not-being. The world of sense stands logically opposed to being in the funda-

* Archer Butler : *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*, p. 191. † Ferrier : *Lectures and Remains*, vol. i., p.p. 96 & 99.

mental antithesis of thought, as the particular to the universal, the sensible to the intelligible, the many to the one. The many is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no many, but only one. The changeable is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no changeable, but only an unvarying permanent. The spurious existence which might be attributed to not-being, and therefore to natural things, is a mere subterfuge, which, when examined, resolves itself into a contradiction." The Vedāntins were contented to accept the contradiction. The illusion from which, as illusorily overlying the absolute *ego*, the many and the changeable proceeded, was unreal, was contradictory, had illusorily created itself. It was unintelligible, inexplicable. There was one real, one intelligible, and that was the one transcendent and impersonal self.

* "That which abides within the earth, which earth knows not, of which earth is the body, which actuates the earth from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within water, which water knows not, of which water is the body, which actuates water from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which actuates fire from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the atmosphere, which the atmosphere knows not, of which the atmosphere is the body, which actuates the atmosphere from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the wind, which the wind knows not, of which the wind is the body, which actuates the wind from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sky, which the sky knows not, of which the sky is the body, which actuates the sky from within, that is thyself, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sun, which the sun knows not, of which the sun is the body, which actuates the sun from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the regions, which the regions know not, of which the regions are the body, which actuates the regions from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the moon and stars, which the moon and stars know not, of which the moon and stars are the body, which actuates the moon and stars from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within all creatures, which all creatures know not, of which all creatures are the body, which actuates all creatures from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which actuates the consciousness from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought-upon, knows unknown; that than which there is no other that sees, no other that hears,

* Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, v. 7-3.

no other that thinks, no other that knows; that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal."

It seems probable, as has been seen, that the earliest Indian thinkers derived the existing order of things from self one and impersonal in association with some inexplicable principle neither existent nor non-existent. This principle was co-eternal with the absolute *ego*, and from their apparent union proceeded the universal soul, all individual souls, and their environments of pleasure, pain, and indifference, with all plurality and change. This unintelligible entity came to be variously designated the undeveloped, the undifferentiated, the primary, the emanatory *principium*, illusion, *avyakta*, *avyākṛita*, *pradhāna*, *prakṛiti*, *avidyā*, *māyā*. The absolute *ego* was the one real existence.

The existence of both the inner and outer worlds of every-day experience was apparent, fictitious, unreal. They existed only so far as to render possible the action and passion of daily life as matters of general agreement or common sense. To the thinker who, stepping beyond convention, looked beyond the appearances into the reality of things, all personal selves with their environments of objects, and their experiences active and passive, were alike unreal. Upon this conception of the totality of things supervened in later times the belief in metempsychosis, seemingly taken up from ruder tribes, and the prospect of endless misery awaiting the soul in its never-ceasing series of embodiments. Philosophy, the quest of the real, introverting the soul upon itself, and detaching it from its illusory adjuncts, alone had power to extricate it from its sufferings in the world of sense. The gods and their worship belonged to the unreal, but the knowledge of the real, the immersion in the absolute, was accessible to those only whose intellects had been purified by Vedic and traditionary observances. This was the conciliation of *Brahmavidyā* with *Karmavidyā*, of the new philosophy with the old religion.

Buddhism, as it is well known, originated among the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, the military and agricultural classes. The Buddhists held fast by the belief in metempsychosis and the endless misery of the successive embodiments, and by the unreality of the world, both of the inner and the outer order of things. But they refused the existence of anything real beneath or beyond the phenomena. They allowed no soul beyond the intellect, which they described as a series of sensations and of the ideal residues of sensations illusively taking the form of subject and object, and prolonged till the rise of pure knowledge. Its environment of objects had a merely fluxional existence, like the shifting colours of a sunset cloud, enabling apparent souls to overtake apparent ends. Their existence was a power of giving rise to the activities

of every-day life, *arthakriyā-kāritva*. All beyond was a void or blank. The totality of things was * “at the most a phantasmagory of merely empirical co-existences or successions floating over a pit of nonentity.” The absolute *ego*, the *brahman*, of the Brāhmanic philosophers, the knowledge of which they reserved to themselves as their highest prerogative, was nonsensical, a thing not to be construed to the understanding. The Buddhists admitted only two instruments of knowledge, perception and inference, rejecting that of verbal communication which the Brāhmins had set up to give certitude to the Vedic revelation. The Brāhmins had rested the knowledge of the transcendent self, of the spiritual absolute, upon the authority of revelation. It belonged, as we should say, to faith or to reason, not to the understanding. If it was the *totum metaphysicum*, it was equally the *non-ens logicum*; to the understanding pure being is pure nothing. The Buddhists recognising no higher faculty than the logical, swept it away as an absurdity. Knowledge of the truth disengaged the phenomenal transmigrating self, the *ālaya-vijnāna*, from its apparent action and passion, and it passed beyond its miseries into the void or blank. Retractation into undifferentenced existence, immersion in the absolute *ego*, had been the highest end and the promise of the Brāhmanic absolutists; a passage into the void, annihilation, was the highest end, and the promise of Buddhist nihilists. † “The notions of an abstract self modified in no particular manner; of an abstract world isolated from the special phenomena of sense; and of an abstract deity, apart from those finite attributes by which he is manifested in relation to the finite consciousness of mankind, can be given in no phase of consciousness; for if they were, the relation and succession which constitute consciousness would be annihilated.” To those early thinkers the transition from absolutism to nihilism was natural enough. It is late in the progress of philosophy that a thorough-going scrutiny of the structure of the mind brings to light the necessity of these negative conceptions, practical not speculative, to limit, to unify and consummate the round of human cognitions. Negative thought is till then easily mistaken for the absence of all thought.

The view of Indian philosophy thus presented to the reader, cannot be more profitably completed than by calling to his recollection its points of similarity to the earliest constructions of the richer genius of Greek speculation. For this purpose the lectures of Archer Butler will supply the needful intimations. “† We found in the school of Elea—whose metaphysics were inherited by the Megaric succession—the principle openly stated that the sensible

* Masson : Recent British Philosophy, p. 32.

† Mansel : Metaphysics, p. 292.

‡ Lectures on the History of Ancient British Philosophy pp. 259 sqq.

world is purely phenomenal, accidental, apparent; in contradistinction from that substantial world of reason which alone deserves the title of real existence. Considered then, by the intelligence, the world of existence becomes of course subordinated to the laws and forms of intelligence; it is a world of which we have the interpretation in our own reason, there alone, and there perfectly. Now of these laws of intelligence, as it is their undoubted character, that they regard the necessary, the unconditional, the absolute—so is it certain that this absolute thing, thus contemplated by intellectual intuition, being the common foundation and essential reality of all things, and of all things equally, cannot but be one and ever identical with itself. To the eye of reason, then, there is no plurality, no change; one being not merely supports, but is, the universe; and all that reveals itself in the lower world of sense is but the external manifestation of this absolute unity. Of anything which that mutable world includes it cannot be said that it is—it becomes; for its property is incessant change; and of that which incessantly changes, as on the one hand, there can be no assured science, so on the other, there cannot even be any true and proper *reality* predicated. Vain it is to affirm, with the short-sighted naturalists of the Ionic school, that it is sufficient for us to trust the regulated sequences of nature; if these sequences be casual not even the shadow of science can regard them, if they be arbitrary, but be believed to be invariable, this again is not science but faith; if they be necessary and unalterable, then are they, what we affirm them, the mere manifestations in the world of sense of the necessary attributes of a necessary and eternal thing;—they are then, as it were, the absolute contemplated by the eyes of sense; and all the scientific reality of such laws is only the reality of the absolute being that exhibits itself in them. The universe then, is *one*, to the total exclusion of superior, inferior, or equal:—ἐν τὰ πάντα.

"The sovereign good of Stilpo was expressed in one word, ἀπαθμία, a term which Seneca translates *animus impatiens*, not without apologies for the employment of a term which in his days, as well as in our own, seems to have obtained a signification the exact reverse of this philosophic use of it. He distinguishes between this rigorous tenet and the more reasonable doctrine of the Stoics: *noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit; illorum ne sentit quidem*.

"The principle professes to merge all individuality in absolute sameness. We may expect at first sight to find this doctrine not less active in the world of life than in that of inanimate nature or abstract conception. If then the reasoner who habitually dwells upon the oneness of the universe, come to apply his views to the properties of separate minds; and if his philosophic loyalty

can stand the test of carrying out his principle in the very citadel of individuality, the personal consciousness; he must, to establish his point (which, if not absolute, is nothing), undertake to break down the barriers which nature seems to have erected between man and man. Now, if we adhere to the world of consciousness, this enterprise is impossible. No effort of ingenuity can invalidate the conviction with which each individual pronounces himself to be himself alone, and not another. But, by this time, you can readily conjecture that the Megaric was not to be embarrassed by a difficulty of this nature. He could demur to the evidence itself of consciousness; not indeed by denying that the witness makes the affirmation, but by refusing to allow the witness's competency. He could declare that the internal sense was as worthless as the external in the search of eternal truth; and that if the laws and principles of morals are to be based upon a scientific foundation, they must be fixed, not on the yielding sands of consciousness (itself, as Heracleitus had so often shown, never for two instants the same), but upon the impregnable rock of reason. The philosopher will therefore morally as metaphysically, labour to forget himself in the universe. He will obliterate the illusive conviction of individuality by making himself, as far as possible, a petty element in a general plan; and regard life, as well as nature, as the necessary servant of unalterable fate. But if thus it be wisdom to show no will, but the will of the universe, it must be wisdom to efface every principle which can urge the will, and this without exception; for while by perfect neutrality the man leaves himself to the disposal of the governing whole, by the exertion of any affection or desire, no matter how popularly virtuous, he advances himself beyond the level of his place in the machine and presumes to establish a separate interest in the world. It thus appears (if I am not mistaken in this attempt to penetrate his views), that Stilpo might, by a resolute adherence to his metaphysical principle, have arrived at that ἀπάθεια which has so much perplexed the historians of ancient philosophy: nor can we be surprised to find that when from the cloudy heights of speculation the philosopher descended into common life, and transferred the theories of the pure reason into the sphere of sense, he would be likely to display what Pliny calls "*rigorem quendam, torvitatemque naturæ duram et inflexibilem.*"

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. V.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN
NORTHERN INDIA.

Our Land Revenue Policy in Northern India. By Charles James Connell, B.C.S.

THE author of this book is a young Civillian of six or seven years standing in Oudh. If he has done nothing else, by writing this account of our Land Revenue Policy, he has at least shown that it is possible by a few years of earnest work to acquire an intimate knowledge of district life and government, which many men do not attain to in a much longer time. But the book itself has many merits, and it ought to be read. It shows how the working of our revenue system in Oudh has struck a man of an earnest and fresh mind. And although there is much in it that is crude, and little which those familiar with the discussions on our land revenue have not seen before, yet Mr. Connell's force and eagerness give the subject a new life, and atone for the few defects.

The poverty and indebtedness of the landowners in Northern India, and the rapidity with which property in the soil is passing from the old landowning classes into the hands of others, is an old theme, and one that has been often written on in this *Review*. But we make no apology, either for ourselves or for Mr. Connell, for again drawing attention to the subject. No one who has anything to do with India, either as a public servant, or as a settler in the country, can afford to look with indifference on the ruin of the old families and tribes. That such ruin is progressing at a rapid pace in many parts of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the North-West, it would be impossible to deny. If it is the result principally of our assessment and revenue system, as the author of this book and others hold, no rest ought to be given to the matter until the proper remedy is found and applied. Even if the cause is not what it is here stated to be, and if the remedies proposed are not those best suited to the case, good service is done by any one who can keep the attention of men directed to the existence of this great evil.

There are, of course, some who will deny that it is an evil. Those especially who come to India to occupy high positions in middle life look upon the transfer of the soil to *bunias* and money-lenders as an advantage to the country. They believe that such men will use their capital to improve the land, and will make better landlords than the embarrassed men they supersede. They are convinced that a generation or two will turn the

can stand the test of carrying out his principle in the very citadel of individuality, the personal consciousness; he must, to establish his point (which, if not absolute, is nothing), undertake to break down the barriers which nature seems to have erected between man and man. Now, if we adhere to the world of consciousness, this enterprise is impossible. No effort of ingenuity can invalidate the conviction with which each individual pronounces himself to be himself alone, and not another. But, by this time, you can readily conjecture that the Megaric was not to be embarrassed by a difficulty of this nature. He could demur to the evidence itself of consciousness; not indeed by denying that the witness makes the affirmation, but by refusing to allow the witness's competency. He could declare that the internal sense was as worthless as the external in the search of eternal truth; and that if the laws and principles of morals are to be based upon a scientific foundation, they must be fixed, not on the yielding sands of consciousness (itself, as Heraclitus had so often shown, never for two instants the same), but upon the impregnable rock of reason. The philosopher will therefore morally as metaphysically, labour to forget himself in the universe. He will obliterate the illusive conviction of individuality by making himself, as far as possible, a petty element in a general plan; and regard life, as well as nature, as the necessary servant of unalterable fate. But if thus it be wisdom to show no will, but the will of the universe, it must be wisdom to efface every principle which can urge the will, and this without exception; for while by perfect neutrality the man leaves himself to the disposal of the governing whole, by the exertion of any affection or desire, no matter how popularly virtuous, he advances himself beyond the level of his place in the machine and presumes to establish a separate interest in the world. It thus appears (if I am not mistaken in this attempt to penetrate his views), that Stilpo might, by a resolute adherence to his metaphysical principle, have arrived at that ἀπάθεια which has so much perplexed the historians of ancient philosophy: nor can we be surprised to find that when from the cloudy heights of speculation the philosopher descended into common life, and transferred the theories of the pure reason into the sphere of sense, he would be likely to display what Pliny calls "*rigorem quendam, torvitatemque naturæ duram et inflexibilem.*"

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. V.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN
NORTHERN INDIA.

Our Land Revenue Policy in Northern India. By Charles James Connell, B.C.S.

THE author of this book is a young Civillian of six or seven years standing in Oudh. If he has done nothing else, by writing this account of our Land Revenue Policy, he has at least shown that it is possible by a few years of earnest work to acquire an intimate knowledge of district life and government, which many men do not attain to in a much longer time. But the book itself has many merits, and it ought to be read. It shows how the working of our revenue system in Oudh has struck a man of an earnest and fresh mind. And although there is much in it that is crude, and little which those familiar with the discussions on our land revenue have not seen before, yet Mr. Connell's force and eagerness give the subject a new life, and atone for the few defects.

The poverty and indebtedness of the landowners in Northern India, and the rapidity with which property in the soil is passing from the old landowning classes into the hands of others, is an old theme, and one that has been often written on in this *Review*. But we make no apology, either for ourselves or for Mr. Connell, for again drawing attention to the subject. No one who has anything to do with India, either as a public servant, or as a settler in the country, can afford to look with indifference on the ruin of the old families and tribes. That such ruin is progressing at a rapid pace in many parts of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the North-West, it would be impossible to deny. If it is the result principally of our assessment and revenue system, as the author of this book and others hold, no rest ought to be given to the matter until the proper remedy is found and applied. Even if the cause is not what it is here stated to be, and if the remedies proposed are not those best suited to the case, good service is done by any one who can keep the attention of men directed to the existence of this great evil.

There are, of course, some who will deny that it is an evil. Those especially who come to India to occupy high positions in middle life look upon the transfer of the soil to *bunias* and money-lenders as an advantage to the country. They believe that such men will use their capital to improve the land, and will make better landlords than the embarrassed men they supersede. They are convinced that a generation or two will turn the

new men into fine conservative country gentlemen, differing only in their wealth and thrift from those they have supplanted. If it were so, there would be no occasion for dissatisfaction with the present state of things, and the story told by the registration returns in many districts might be regarded with complacency. But Mr. Connell, and men who have had the same experience, can hardly be expected to believe in this view of the case. It would be easier to believe in the transmigration of souls than to hold that a few years of existence as a landowner, will alter the character and view of life which a *bunia* family has inherited from hundreds of generations.

Besides, the majority of these men buy land not with the view of adopting a new career, or changing their mode of life, but simply with the object of getting a new field for their ancient occupation. Unfortunately—for reasons to be spoken of further on when criticising some of Mr. Connell's remarks—the majority of cultivators are obliged to borrow either to get seed or to pay their rent, or for both purposes. To buy a village is to the *bunia* much the same thing as to buy a new business. A Settlement Officer, in one of the later reports, speaking of two of these new zemindars writes: "They are always ready to make advances at from 24 to 30 per cent., sometimes 36: they seldom or never resort to the courts and are always ready to renew the loan at compound interest. Both the parties speak of this system with equal freedom; the tenant admits with indifference that his utmost efforts can never free him altogether, and that it merely depends on a bad or good harvest whether he is a little more or a little less in debt than before. How his account stands he does not pretend to know, for he cannot read. The profit accruing to zemindars who combine usury with farming, is thus enormous; and if the usurer is a distinct person the result is the same for the cultivator. The mass of the profits of his cultivation go in interest, especially as accounts are settled in kind at harvest. The money-lending zemindar thus gets grain cheap and keeps it till the market rises; and the tenants, as they say of themselves, are 'as ants beneath the foot of an elephant.' (Mr. Neale's report on Bharthna Pargana, Etawa district, para 18).

To hand large areas of country, with thousands of cultivators, over to men of this stamp is, in the opinion of the present writer, an evil. Those who are able to hold the opposite view have certainly the advantage of cherishing a much pleasanter faith.

I.

Mr. Connell's book consists of a description of the native system of revenue administration, which he contrasts with our own; of a dissertation on the present method of assessing and collecting

the revenue ; and of some proposals for the better conduct of both of these duties. But it is not so much for these discussions that the book is valuable. Its chief value consists in the picture it gives, evidently drawn by an observant, conscientious and able man, of the present state of the Province of Oudh. It is a picture which ought to attract the attention of those who are responsible for the Oudh administration. If it is true, as we believe it is, some reason ought to be given for the absence of any vigorous attempt to remedy the mis-government which is evidently destroying a fertile Province, and impoverishing a people.

The following description of the native revenue system, as it existed in Oudh, is given by Mr. Connell :—

“There can be little doubt, however, that the native revenue system, so far as it was carried out without excessive violence and oppression, that is, the system itself, was eminently adapted to the conditions of life in this country and to the character of the people. The revenue demand was roughly fixed each year shortly before the autumn harvest, and written engagements were then taken for the payment of the assessment ; but a revision of the tax was made when the prospects of the spring harvest were ascertained, and, according to the prospects of the crops as detailed by the *kanungos*, the demand was raised, lowered, or maintained at the original level.

“If the landowner refused to accept the engagement, the village was either farmed or held direct, the proprietors retained all their *seer* (i.e., all the land tilled by themselves with their own ploughs and farm servants) at favorable rates, and sometimes received also *nankar* or a cash allowance, usually in the shape of a deduction from the rent due for their *seer* fields. When the landowners accepted the engagements, they had to give sureties for punctual payment, and these sureties were generally the local *choudhris*, the *kanungos*, influential bankers, or the larger landowners of the neighbourhood ; if the landowners failed to pay, their sureties paid up, seized the defaulters, and imprisoned them till they raised the sum ; if the surety could not succeed in arresting the defaulters, he took possession of the estate and collected the rents. If there were no sureties, or, if it was thought desirable to punish the refractory landowners, the Government revenue farmer sent off the nearest commandant of troops with full powers to collect the rents and to apply them to the payment of his men ; the latter marched off to the village with his soldiers, drove off the landowners to the jungles, collected what he could from the cultivators ; if he was resisted, he burnt the houses and carried off all the bullocks and other moveable property as spoil ; next year the village would probably be well-nigh deserted ; the owners would be hiding in the jungles ; the cultivators, being without seed or cattle, would be unable to plough any of the fields ; the revenue farmer's receipts would decrease, and the owners would be invited back with a promise of a reduced land tax ; the fields, having lain fallow in the interval, would yield an abundant crop, and in a short time the village would be as prosperous as ever.

“The landowner would have received a warning to be more punctual in his payments, and the revenue farmer would have learnt the impolicy of a resort to excessive violence.

“There were neither accumulating arrears of land revenue, nor ruinous back debts, to weigh down the proprietors ; there were no unsatisfied decrees of court to drive debtors to hopeless despair ; they came back from their

court of bankruptcy, the jungle forest, free from encumbrances ; the land tax was fixed with some regard to the prospects of the coming harvest, arrears were remitted when the impossibility of payment within the year was clearly demonstrated, but when the defaulting landowners were found with money, they were compelled to pay up the revenue demand in full ; the proximity of the jungle, and the certainty of a serious diminution of income, checked the Government officials or the local farmers from using, as a rule, too much violence ; villages or shares of village were indeed from time to time compulsorily sold or mortgaged, but in those days the wheel of fortune revolved quickly and suddenly ; an estate acquired to-day by a forced sale, by voluntary transfer, or by downright violence, might be lost to-morrow ; the new owner might be disgraced or killed, and the old owner would recover his ancestral estates.

"There was no decree of court to stifle out for ever all hope of restoration ; there were no deeds of sale upheld by a strong and permanent Government ; there could be no black despair in those days of changeful misrule ; much oppression, much crime, and much misgovernment there were undeniably, but it may be doubted whether the landowners would not prefer the chance of murder or pillage to the dead-level of hopeless ruin, to which our system is fast reducing them.

"It is a mistake to suppose that any exact regard was paid to the amount of rent actually collected by the landowners ; the system of assessment was one of rough bargain ; no rent-rolls of any kind were presented to the Government officials, or written out in the offices of the pargana *kanungos* ; these latter officials merely maintained registers to show the annual demand from each estate for all past years ; the village accountant was a private servant of the landowners, and his accounts were made out solely for the latter's inspection and information ; the revenue farmer at the time of the fixation of the yearly demand in September, was guided in his assessment by the detailed statements of past taxation, and by the reports of the officials in respect to the means of the landowners and the condition of their estates. Theoretically, the landowner was required to pay up in full the rents of the cultivators, with a deduction of a certain sum as a cash allowance ; but in assuming the rental, the lands in his own cultivation were rated at a low rent ; as a matter of fact, there were no means of ascertaining what the gross collections of the landowner might amount to ; the past year's demand, which in theory represented that year's full rental *minus* the above deductions, was the only guide at hand for the determination of the revenue demand."

Under this kind of Government it is obvious that the strong man may hold his own, but all the weaker must go to the wall. And this is what in practice did take place : "While a very oppressive land tax was assessed on the estates of the smaller and less powerful landowners, those who were of any consideration frequently escaped with a very light demand." Many of the old village proprietors were robbed and turned out of their possessions by unscrupulous and powerful chieftains. Many were obliged to put themselves under the protection of more powerful neighbours, or to make over their villages to men who had influence at court. No doubt a large part of Oudh did enjoy tolerable prosperity if not peace even in the times of the worst misrule. But a very large minority of the smaller zemindars must have led lives of the greatest trouble and misery, and it

is to be feared, the peasantry also suffered more than Mr. Connell's account would lead his readers to suppose, although he does not attempt to conceal the atrocious misrule which preceded the annexation.

On what grounds then, is it argued, that the native administration was better or was preferred by the people to ours? Writing in the *Calcutta Review* in 1873 (number cxii, 1873, April, *A Land Policy for Northern India*), the present writer, speaking of the objections raised by the zemindars to our system said: "They admitted the moderation of our assessment, but compared the vigorous machine-like severity with which we collect it with the lax and capricious methods of native administration. Their argument in fact was this, that a heavy assessment without danger of losing their land by auction sale, is better than a light assessment in which this danger is ever present like a skeleton at a feast." The same reason is assigned by Mr. Connell for the preference of the native system to our own. Whatever may be the cause, and whether the causes named by Mr. Connell are the true ones or not, the fact remains that our administration leads to the ruin of the old families, the dispossession of the old owners of the soil, and the substitution of a new class. This has been going on in the North-West Provinces for the last seventy years at least. It was brought prominently to the notice of Government as a great evil in 1820. At a later date, Colonel Sleeman recorded the opinion of the Oudh landowners "that four times more of the old aristocratic families have gone to decay in the half of the territory made over to the English in 1801, than in the half reserved by the Oudh sovereign."

And we learn from Mr. Connell, that these assertions are borne out by the histories compiled by the Settlement Officers. In the Lucknow district, for example, prior to the assessment of the land revenue, "the only *parvenu* landowners holding estates, were the descendants of a former royal minister who had acquired six villages, and a banker who had secured a considerable property in Lucknow and Unao on alleged sales and mortgages." Contrast this with our district of Cawnpore, in which 65 per cent. Of the land had been acquired by strangers: with the Etawa district or with Farrackabad, in which with a total area of 1,103,267 acres, the following transfers are recorded during the last settlement—

By mortgage	...	...	acres	93,064
By sale	...	...	"	138,150
By auction	...	...	"	91,355

And now we have a competent witness coming forward to tell us that the same results are following our administration in Oudh.

In the Hurdui district, which has only been recently assessed to the land revenue, transfers have been proceeding at a most alarming rate. In the Lucknow, Unao and other districts the landowners are described as being deeply involved in debt and difficulties, paying their revenue by selling and mortgaging their lands. The Deputy Commissioner of Unao reported in 1872 "the mass of the people deeply involved:" and the circumstances of the Lucknow landholders are similarly described by Colonel Reid (*vide* Note on pp. 23 and 26). In fact to quote our author's words, "It is scarcely now a question which admits of dispute that our system of revenue assessment and collection does, in some strange manner, succeed in ousting from their hereditary estates most of these small independent landowners in whose interests our settlements are supposed to be framed; on this point the testimony of all officers and of all published reports unhesitatingly agrees: it is also the unanimous opinion of English officials that this is a grave evil, and that every effort should be made to check the rapid decay of the old landowners of Upper India." Holding these views, it is hardly consistent of Mr. Connell to quarrel with the expression used in this *Review* in 1873. "The class of ex-proprietors is our own work, the offspring of our own laws." An appeal may be made to the present book for confirmation of the statement that the forced sale of land for debt and for arrears of revenue was an innovation, which has gone far in the eyes of the people to nullify all that they have gained from our rule. Sales for arrears no doubt did occur. (See p. 102 and 103 of extracts from Harington's Analysis: Calcutta, 1866). But the practice said to prevail in Behar and Bengal appears to have concerned the rights of the revenue contractors or zemindars, and I am not aware that any instances can be quoted of whole village communities sold up for arrears under the native governments. That transfers by sale or mortgage were made among themselves, and that a defaulting co-sharer often mortgaged his rights to another who paid the revenue for him, is of course known to every Revenue Officer. The difference between Mr. Connell and myself is, however, really one rather of words than of fact, as the extracts from his book given above will show.

II.

Here, then, we have the evidence of a competent witness to prove that the same phenomenon is following our administration of Oudh after little more than 20 years, which has resulted from our Government of the older provinces. Everywhere the landowners are in difficulties, and the land is fast passing into the hands of strangers. What are the causes in Mr. Cornell's judg-

ment which produce this result? They are two. The assessment of the revenue and its collection.

The land revenue * may press the owners of land in two ways. It may be too high; or it may be fair in amount, but unequally distributed over the co-sharers. Mr. Connell brings the following charges against the present method of assessment:—

(1). That it is fixed at a rate which is far above the actual half of the rental: that the assessment is not based on the actual rental collected by the zemindars; but on a fancy estimate framed by the Settlement Officer.

(2). That Settlement Officers divide the soils into minute sub-divisions unknown to the people, which do not influence rents.

(3). That no allowance is made for high-caste tenants.

(4). That allowance is not made for lands the rent of which is paid in kind.

(5). That the revenue is raised in anticipation of future increase of income.

(6). That no allowance is made—

(a) For fallow.

(b) For bad seasons, damage by wild beasts, floods, and the like.

(7). That the increased revenue is suddenly demanded before the zemindars have time to adjust the rents to meet it.

(8). That it is unequally distributed among the co-sharers.

These are the charges brought by Mr. Connell against the assessing officers. As they embrace almost every fault which a settlement officer can commit, it is a matter of congratulation to me, speaking as a North-West revenue officer, that his experience is derived entirely from Oudh.

And here, before entering into these charges brought against the method of assessment, I will point out once for all the weakest point in Mr. Connell's book. He is a man of short service and acquainted only with part of Oudh. His knowledge of the North-West is confined evidently to the perusal of a few reports and compilations, such as Mr. A. Colvin's Memorandum on the Settlements, which by the way, is rather a sensational political pamphlet than a sober critique. He has not even read the settlement reports, or made an attempt to ascertain the facts regarding districts such as Etawa and Farrackabad and Meerut, the settlements of which he holds up as examples of ruinous rack-renting. Consequently he destroys in a great mea-

* I protest emphatically against Mr. Connell's use of the word *tax* as meaning the land-revenue. It is entirely wrong in itself, and is calculated to encourage a very false view of this source of revenue to which it is not necessary to give countenance.

sure the weight of his arguments, and detracts from the value of what is otherwise an able essay. What grounds, for example, has he for asserting that the assessment of Etawa and Farrackabad is too severe, and that Sir William Muir would have directed it to be revised, only he disliked to disturb the country again with settlement operations?

Of these districts Mr. Connell writes: "The proprietors have to pay annually to the State a sum which, including the wages of the village accountant, the village police, and the new and old cesses, must at present amount to between 90 and 95 per cent. of their gross rentals, while the remainder of the rents must be swallowed up in legal expenses and in the cost of management." If this was the case the regret and astonishment expressed by Mr. Connell would be very well founded. It might, however, have occurred to him that Sir William Muir and the Board of Revenue, which at that time consisted of Messrs. Reid and Inglis, would hardly have allowed two fine districts to be deliberately destroyed in this way. Some suspicion of the grounds on which he based this calculation might well have been entertained by him. But we look in vain for any proof or attempted proof of these statements. It is not too much to say that they have no foundation, except in the sympathetic mind of the author himself. The assessment of Etawa, a district the conditions of which had been utterly changed by canals and railways since the old settlement, was raised eleven per cent. Two years after the new revenue was declared, the rentals, as returned by the zemindars themselves, were to the revenue as 100 to 58. Making due allowance for the lands entered at nominal rents and for under-statement, it is hardly possible that the real rental was far short of double the revenue.

In Farrackabad the revenue was raised 10 per cent. The revenue rate per cultivated acre at the old settlement was 2-2-8. At the present, 1-14-7. In no pargana of the district is the revenue more than 55 per cent. of the present rentals, and in six parganas it has already sunk below half of the recorded and acknowledged assets.

Further information can be gathered from the reports of the Court of Wards. All the districts of the Meerut division have been re-settled. The percentage of revenue to rental in the villages under the Court was 45·5 in the revenue year 1873-4. In the three newly-settled districts of Rohilcund the revenue fell on the rental as follows:—

Bijnor ...	...	...	...	51·5
Budaon...	...	...	...	36·7
Shahjehanpur	...	...	...	50·7

In Etawa, which is Mr. Connell's special bugbear, the Court of

Wards hold six estates paying Rs. 65,806 as revenue, most of which belong to embarrassed proprietors who have placed themselves under the Court. The Collector returns the rental of these villages at Rs. 1,18,578. The revenue in the first years of the settlement is only 55·50 of the assets of these estates, hitherto mismanaged by their owners.

When it is added that Pargana Baghput of the Meerut district is quoted as an example of over assessment, sufficient has been said to show that the author's information regarding the North-West settlements is not such as to justify him in pronouncing judgment upon them. We may now turn to his charges against the settlements in Oudh with regard to which, it may be presumed, he has had more opportunity of learning the facts. But his rashness in criticising matters of which he neither knows nor has attempted to learn the truth, weakens the confidence of the reader in the rest of his statements.

First as to the neglect of the actual rental in assessing. If by this is meant that no attention is paid to the rental of each village, and that the assessing officer does not consider it at all in fixing the demand, there is much soundness in Mr. Connell's views. But I am not aware that any settlement officer does neglect to consider the rentals. It is certainly not so in the North-West whatever it may be in Oudh. The rental as it is recorded, as it is corrected for the nominally rental *sir*, or home-farms, and for other well known under-statements, and as it should be by the settlement officers' valuation, are carefully compared. The assumed rent-rates are not rigidly adhered to, or slavishly followed. They are used as a standard and guide. Without some such measure of value it is hard to see how anything approaching to a just and equal assessment could be made. If it is the author's intention to contend that each village should be assessed on its own rental without regard to the rents paid elsewhere for similar land, he is altogether wrong, and has no conception of the first virtue of a settlement—equality of assessment. Is it intended that the landlord who has continually raised his rents, brought all his land into cultivation, and improved his estate, should be assessed on his rental, and that the same course should be pursued with regard to the man who has confined his exertions to collecting the rents that were fixed forty years ago, before prices rose, railways opened up the countries, and canals irrigated the fields? Yet these are cases which are continually found side by side. The recorded rents may be perfectly true in both cases. Yet how unjust would it be to accept them as the basis of an assessment and to take half the rental in each case. So it is frequently the case that one landlord records his true receipts, while another does not. No one will contend that

we are to accept a false rental as our basis. Again, take the not uncommon case of a notorious rack-renter. Are we to accept his rates and ruin his tenantry for him? Doubtless Mr. Connell does not intend us to follow the rentals in these cases; but only when the rental is true, adequate and fair. Well, that is just what is done in the North-West. But much pains are taken to arrive at rent-rates without which no one could tell with any certainty what was true, or what was false.—What rents were adequate and fair and what were abnormally high or low.

How far Mr. Connell's objection is justified with regard to Oudh, is not known. If the assumed rates and the estimates of rental have been made on ill-considered and insufficient data, and have then been rigidly followed without regard to the actual rents (and this seems to be his meaning) nothing can be worse. There appears to be little doubt from Mr. Connell's book, and from much that has appeared in the Oudh Administration Reports and in other places, that the assessments have been badly made, and are crushingly severe in many districts. But it is not clear that this is the result of the system of assessment. Because estimates have been wrong, and rent-rates have been assumed without proper data, it does not follow that no estimates ought to be made and no rent-rates used. If the Oudh settlement officers have rashly assumed rates, and ruined their districts by rigid adherence to them, they themselves stand condemned rather than the system which they abused.

So far as Mr. Connell's advice is, that we should follow the rentals of individual villages and should not be guided by rent-rates deduced from large areas, and by comparison with all similar villages in the neighbourhood, it is quite wrong. No more utterly unfair and preposterous assessment could be made than one which should be based on the recorded rentals, accepting the condition of each village as normal and final, and trusting to the honesty of the zemindars and the fidelity of the village accountants.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona, and Mr. Connell may rest assured that he is not the first wise man to whom so very simple a way of getting through a very difficult business has occurred. At the present time the Government of the North-West is engaged in the construction of a machinery for ensuring the accuracy of the Patwari's papers. If they succeed, it will be possible to look much more confidently to the recorded rentals at the next settlement than we have been able to do hitherto. But even then, it will no more do to follow them blindly and slavishly than to do the like with assumed rates. The matter may be confidently left to the discretion of the settlement officers of the future, of whom our author may, it is hoped, be one.

The objection taken by Mr. Connell to the sub-division or classification of soils, is one that he has not sufficiently explained, and is somewhat difficult to understand. Granted that it is wrong to classify soils, how does it lead to over-assessment? Every one knows that soils vary in value. Is Mr. Connell prepared to pay the same rent, or to make the peasants pay the same for a piece of rich loam and for a plot of hillocky sand. So far from the peculiarities and variations of soil having no effect on rent, no man can have done settlement work for a year or two, without feeling that his whole success must depend, first on his ascertaining the variations in soil which cause the variations in rent, and secondly in marking out the soil areas accurately. A perusal of Mr. C. A. Elliott's rent-rate reports of the Farrackabad district (the assessment of which is so roundly condemned in the book before us), would do much to make Mr. Connell understand the subject, and fit him in some measure for its discussion.

Much wonder is expressed at the sub-division of soils into twelve classes. When the vernacular names of twelve soils are recited, the English reader will very likely think that the system must be absurd and that the distinctions are fanciful. But it is really a very simple matter. There is hardly a square mile in the Doab, in which the three broad natural varieties of soil do not exist—clay, loam, and sand. Of course there are points at which these soils approach each other, and where distinction is difficult. But any man with a pair of eyes in his head can distinguish the difference between them, where the difference is such as to effect their agricultural value. And having achieved that he has only to ask, observe, and search about continually, trudging over the fields with the village people for eight hours a day consecutively for several months, in order to enable him to learn very fairly and practically the renting value of each soil. It is a problem that is literally solved *ambulando*. A stout pair of legs with a strong pair of boots, a head impervious to sun, and an average amount of brains, make a good settlement officer. Mr. Connell speaks with awe of trained land surveyors. I never saw a trained land surveyor, and I do not know what he is like. But I doubt whether he gets anything like the same practical training in the valuation of land as our settlement officers. Of course, if you pitch-fork into a district a young fellow who has had no training, or if you make over the settlement work to an old collector having no special aptitude for it and over-burdened with other duties, the consequences are likely to be what Mr. Connell describes. But it is not because it is wrong to take notice of the different values of soils that the failure takes place.

It might be possible to arrive at a tolerably fair assessment without a careful classification of soils, but only if very large tracts

were dealt with. So soon as you come to small areas and to the fixation of the tenants' rents, unless the village has been carefully inspected and the soil areas marked out with laborious accuracy, grief is inevitable. It is all very fine to say that you should leave the people to arrange their own rents. That is the mistake we made in the North-West before Act XIX of 1873 was passed. The author of "*Our Land Revenue Policy*" has not duly considered the subject. On page 48, he complains that the assessor did not aid the landowner to raise his rent. On page 49 he bewails the fact that the N.-W. P. Revenue Act, gives the settlement officer *no power to enhance the rents of tenants-at-will!* (who, by the way, do not form the great bulk of cultivators; on the contrary they are a small minority in most districts.) On page 129 in a note he says.—"There is really no necessity for fixing the rents of occupancy tenants in this way." The zemindars are to be left to sue, he says, and adds "the rent courts can determine without difficulty any cases which may come before them." The rent courts must be much more clever in that case than the settlement officers; and if Mr. Connell had his way, and the soils were not classified to guide them, they must be very superior rent courts indeed if they arrive at anything but a most preposterous conclusion,

As to the number of soils, nature and circumstances are to blame not the settlement officer. There are the three great natural classes, as has been said above. It is pretty well known that irrigation makes a difference in the renting value of land in India, at least in the part we are speaking of. Here, then, at once our soils become six. Then unfortunately the presence of manure and the distance from the village site also make a difference: and the people are so fastidious, and so disinclined to work on broad averages, that they make corresponding differences in the rent. The six soils have thus become twelve. Then, suppose that part of the country is in the low flooded lands bordering a river or large *jheel*; that is a fact we can hardly ignore because the minds of some men prefer a grand simplicity to details. But it is to be feared Mr. Connell is

"incredulous
of all our scrutinies and us."

He does not believe in settlement officers and prefers to trust the *patwari* and his village records.

The question of assessing high-caste tenants is not one that has been usually overlooked by settlement officers. According to the rules for enhancing rent published by the North West Board, the labour and skill of the cultivator are among the matters to be taken notice of. Act XVIII of 1873 makes it imperative to consider the caste of the tenant, if it is proved that by local custom

caste is taken into account in determining rent. But it is also necessary to remember Mr. Thomason's caution: "There is a great tendency, among natives especially, to assess heavily the poor and industrious classes of cultivators, and to be more lenient towards the powerful or the indolent. It is certainly impossible to fix the same *jama* on land of the same quality when held by the latter as the former; what would be unnecessarily indulgent to the former might be ruinously oppressive to the latter; but the former should not be denied a present fair profit, because they are industrious and may increase it, nor the latter allowed a present unfair profit, because they are unthrifty and are inclined to squander it."

And here I may say that the influence of caste on rents is not always so marked as Mr. Connell supposes. A minute inquiry over a large area in the Farrackabad district showed only a difference of one anna in the rupee between the rates paid by the high-caste and the skilled low-caste tenant. Where the custom does hold, it is taken into account; and, generally speaking, settlement officers in the North West always consider the caste of the tenants in assessing, but they may not always find it necessary to lower their rates on that account. We must believe Mr. Connell that in Oudh the custom of charging high-caste tenants less rent than others does exist and has been over-ridden by the settlement officers. "The non-recognition of this difficulty (*i.e.* of assessing all at the same level) was the cause of over-assessment in Oudh." If so, there was no excuse for it, as the Directions to Settlement Officers,—a book, it is supposed, not excluded from Oudh—should have drawn the attention of the assessing officers to the point. Sufficient care does not appear to have been taken in Oudh to train and guide the settlement officers. They were also, as Mr. Connell points out, overburdened with work which ought properly to have been done by a separate judicial staff.

With regard to *battai* villages, Mr. Connell says that the receipts of landowners are much less in *battai* villages where rents are all paid in kind. It may be so in Oudh. I have had a large experience of such villages in the North-West, and I can affirm that the cash rates ordinarily paid for similar land will seldom make up a rental equal to the average receipts in grain. The necessity for assessing such villages low arises when the grain rents have been commuted to cash. The peasantry unaccustomed to pay cash, and unable at first to manage their affairs so as to procure the money when they want it, cannot pay the customary rents. The mistakes in the Bareilly settlement, to which Mr. Connell alludes, arose rather from taking too sanguine a view of the continuance of cultivation in a wild neigh-

bourhood adjoining the *terai*, than from mistaken estimates of produce. Any how, so far as the Bareilly settlement is quoted as a charge against the North-West settlements, it is a bad example. The complaints against it have been closely investigated, and after a careful examination by Mr. R. Currie, very little occasion for amendment or alteration has been found.

Here I may notice a mistake made by Mr. Connell (pp. 196 and 197) in connection with this subject. He says, "In many instances the settlement officers appear to have endeavoured to commute all grain rents into cash rents, whether the cultivators were willing to pay cash rents, or whether they wished to continue their grain payments." This is one instance out of several in the book in which hasty inferences are drawn from some passage or quotation in an administration report without any attempt being made accurately to understand the subject. It may surprise Mr. Connell to learn that the applications for commutation are made almost invariably by the tenants who abhor the *battai* system and the oppression that accompanies it, and clamour for cash rents. If he had looked at the N.-W. P. Revenue Act which appears to be in his possession, he would have seen that either party—that is either landlord or tenant—has a legal right to claim commutation. To say that the settlement officer *endeavoured to commute the grain rents against the will of the tenants*, is to crowd as many inaccuracies into one sentence as the words could well convey.

The objection to the system of raising the revenue too suddenly and before the zemindars have time to adjust their rents, has more in it than most of the other charges made by Mr. Connell. In the North-West this fault has been effectually remedied by the powers given to settlement officers under the new Revenue Act, and by making the new revenues progressive when the enhancement is large. The same methods should be adopted in Oudh.

The unequal distribution of revenue among the co-sharers is a grave mistake and fatal to any settlement. It is a matter to which great attention is paid in the North-West. If we can trust Mr. Connell, the Oudh revenue authorities have much to answer for in this matter. They pressed on the new assessments, with the object of pleasing the Government of India, then suffering under its financial crisis. They allowed no time for the arrangement of matters among the coparceners, more especially in the case of villages in which there were proprietary bodies under the Talukdar. Hence, with the object of gaining credit for a spurious loyalty, they disregarded their real duty both to the Government and people. "In some districts, notably Fyzabad, Gonda, Kheri, and parts of Sultanpore, at a time of supposed financial pressure,

the revision of the assessment was hurried on, and a greatly enhanced demand was imposed, before the settlement officer had had time to adjust the rights and liabilities of the various sharers and under-proprietors affected by the operation. It is not difficult to understand that a course such as this necessarily entails great hardship on the persons directly responsible for the Government revenue, and results in their frequent default. They cannot themselves meet the whole of the Government demand, and they are not in the position to recover from their co-sharers and subordinate holders their fair quota of the increase."

This statement does not depend on the authority of Mr. Connell. It is a quotation from page 13 of the Oudh Revenue Report of 1872-73. So we read in the same report, "In Kheri much of the trouble is to be ascribed to the fact that here, as in parts of Gonda and Fyzabad, operations were pushed on with more haste than was perhaps advisable, in order to secure the Government an enhanced revenue as soon as possible." There was a standing rule, that after a new assessment was declared, a year should be given to the landowners to adjust their rents before it was collected. "On the occurrence of the financial panic in 1869, the Chief Commissioner, *loyally doing his utmost to assist the Government of India*, directed this rule to be disregarded in the parganas which were assessed at that time." The italics are mine. The less of such loyalty that is asked for or given, the longer we are likely to keep our present position in the world. The financial panic of 1869 has very much to answer for. Among other things, hundreds of ruined families and disloyal hearts in Oudh.

On the whole I do not think that Mr. Connell has made out his charges against our *system* of settlement. There is nothing in the *system* which need lead to over-assessment, and so far as his objections are against the method, and not against the way it has been worked in Oudh, they are weak.

But he has made out a very grave indictment against the Oudh settlements. They appear, as a rule, to have been made by officers who can have had no proper training, and who were over-burdened with judicial work. The settlement officers seem to have received no guidance from the chief revenue authorities, while the real interests of Government and the people were sacrificed by the Chief Commissioner of the time from a mistaken sense of loyalty to the Supreme Government. It is a very sad story. Oudh, our latest acquisition, has been worse bungled than our first. Where are the Thomasons, Birds, and Thorntons of Oudh? The Oudh Government either had few good men, or did not know how to pick them out.

III.

Mr. Connell's remarks on the collection of the revenue are more valuable in themselves than his criticisms on the settlement system. There is a common saying in the North-West, *Jama narm, tahsil garm*. That is the beau ideal of a revenue system: an easy assessment with a strict collection of the revenue.

There is, as Mr. Connell well remarks, a tendency to avoid the use of coercive processes in the collection. It is held for some reason to indicate careless and slovenly action on the Collector's part. Nothing can be more unsound. The only result of frightening collectors from using the legal methods of coercion is, that they leave the whole thing to the Tahsildars. It is the tendency of the Tahsildars always to go back to the old native practices: That is to say, instead of reporting the default, getting the settlement annulled and having the village legally transferred for a term, they take the defaulter to the money-lender and compel him to raise the money by sale or mortgage. The consequence is that the revenue may be collected with the greatest difficulty, and yet there may be no outward sign whatever of coercion. The sore is all the worse for being thus covered over.

Now I maintain that it is the power of selling land for arrears which is at the bottom of this evil. If the Zemindars knew that their land could not be sold, they would not mortgage and sell their rights at the bidding of the Tahsildar. I am confirmed in this opinion by the growing popularity of the new privilege given to landowners under the N.-W. P. Revenue Act, of declaring themselves disqualified and placing their estates under the Court of Wards, *i.e.*, under the Collector of the district. If they do this willingly and freely to avoid the burden of private debt and the consequences of mismanagement, why do they not do it when through hard times or the same mismanagement, they fall into arrears with their revenue? Simply because they are not allowed. Coercive processes are in disrepute. The Collector's returns must be clean. Consequently the defaulters, instead of being summoned by the Collectors, are left to the Tahsildar; who as Mr. Connell says, persecutes them,—literally persecutes them,—into selling or mortgaging their lands. I do not think that anything will check this evil effectually so long as sale for arrears of revenue is allowed. Much, no doubt, might be done if the business of collection was more closely supervised by the English officers. In the North-West Provinces, notwithstanding the wishes of Government repeatedly declared, it has been, and still is, the usual practice of Collectors of districts to keep all the work of collection in their own hands; or more correctly speaking, they habitually exclude their Covenanted assistants from any share in this work. Do it themselves they

cannot. It is common to hear Collectors bewailing their inability to control six or seven Tahsildars, and offering this as an apology for their failure to administer this part of their duties. It never seems to strike them that their senior assistant, at any rate—usually in these days a bald or grey-headed man of middle age—might be employed with some profit on the work. At the risk of giving offence to many excellent men, I must say that jealousy of power is the motive for their present practice. The command of a district acts in many ways on a man's character like the command of a ship. Most men are apt to imagine after a time that they are much greater than they really are, and to grudge the least appearance of power or authority to their inferiors. They speak of the collection of the revenue as of some occult science, to the knowledge of which no wretched assistant need aspire. "I keep it all in my own hands," is the proud boast of many Collectors. So they do; but they do nothing with it. If they had no assistants of sufficient experience there might be some reason for this practice. But no one can say that such is the case in the North-West or Oudh.

Until the Government shows a determination to enforce its declared views in this respect, it is improbable that there will be much change; and without a change of practice there will be no reform in our system of collection. All that Mr. Connell has written on this subject is well worth reading and considering, and his fifth chapter contains many valuable hints.

I do not go with Mr. Connell in his proposal to return to the native system of exacting security from the headmen of defaulting villages for the punctual payment of revenue. No native goes security for another without exacting a price. The proposal would only add to a burden which, in his own opinion, is too heavy as it is. Surely the land itself is quite sufficient. Mr. Connell thinks that if security were taken, the surety might in case of default be put at once in possession of the land for five years. And he thinks that this would be preferable to the present system of farm. He complains of the delay caused by exacting reports, and requiring the sanction of the chief revenue authority in the case of farms and transfers. In the N.-W. Provinces the Collector has power under the law to attach the defaulter's land at once and hold it for five years, if the balance is not paid up sooner, without any reference to superior authority. In the case of farms and transfers a report is necessary. But if the Collector has enquired into the case, as he ought to do, before taking action of any sort, it will not take him ten minutes to write the brief report which is required. Some sort of consistent policy is necessary in the administration; and if every Collector had independent power, there would be as many policies as Collectors.

It is said, by Mr. Connell, that the dates of our revenue instalments are in some cases too late, and that the landowners have time to spend the money which should have been paid into the treasury. "It may be doubted whether the dates appointed for payment of the revenue instalments are not fixed too late . . . the money meanwhile burns in their pockets, or else the money-lender is putting on the screw: and part of it, at any rate, is applied to other purposes than to the prompt payment of the land-tax." p.p. 156-7.

It is curious that all the best revenue authorities in the North-West hold the opposite view. The usual dates in the North-West Provinces are November and December for the *kharif* harvest, and May and June for the *rabi*. The same dates, it is believed, are in use in Oudh. All through his book, it appears to me, Mr. Connell loses sight of the interests of the cultivator. If, as he recommends, the dates were made a month earlier in either case, it is a matter of certainty that the cultivator would have to borrow even more than he does now at the ruinous rate of interest which prevails at rent time, *viz.*, 72 per cent. per annum. The cultivator has little or nothing coming in before the middle of October. By the plan which Mr. Connell approves, he is expected to provide for one-eighth of his rent in the middle of September. It is calculated that nearly all the revenue, one-fourth generally of the entire demand, which is paid into the treasury in November, has been borrowed by the cultivators at usurious interest. The crops first ripe—the early rice and the maize—are usually kept for food. It is cruel and wasteful to force the cultivators to accept the alternative of throwing his food-grain into the market the moment it is ripe, or of borrowing money at exorbitant interest. The grain-dealer becomes master of the situation. The only plan which is consistent with the welfare of the cultivating classes is one which gives them fair time to cut and store their grain, and a little leisure to look about them before they sell it. The dates for the revenue instalments must, or rather should, depend on the dates for the payment of rent. Fix the right date for the rent, and that for the revenue can be determined so as not to leave the money too long in the pockets of the revenue-payers. But to aggravate the present evils, and to thrust the agricultural classes still more under the foot of the grain-dealer and usurer, as Mr. Connell recommends, is a retrograde proposal; and it is surprising to find it advocated at the present time.

IV.

A good deal of space is devoted in Mr. Connell's book to the difficulty experienced by landowners in Oudh in collecting their

rents. He draws a harrowing picture of the poor landlord: "The crops fail and some of the tenants have to spend their rents in marrying their daughters, and he can only collect Rs. 400 of which he, of course, pays Rs. 200 to the treasury." Then he has to go into court, pay the cost of stamps, lawyers, and processes for the underlings, and so forth. When he gets his decree and goes to execute it he finds nothing but an old wooden bed and a brass pot. And altogether he is made out to be a very interesting and ill-used person. All this is very picturesquely told (see pp. 105-107). As not a word is said of the landlord's summary power of distraint, the reader at first finds his sympathies enlisted on his side, and begins to look upon the Oudh cultivator as a very unscrupulous rascal, and the Oudh landlord as among the meekest and most patient of men. A little further on, however, the fact that the landlord can distraint strikes Mr. Connell, and he proceeds to explain that "the low-caste tenants, as a rule, pay their rent punctually and that it is the under-proprietor, the holder of *sir* land, or the sharer in a sub-settled village who is the usual defaulter."

And here, before going into the question between the Talukdar and the under-proprietor, I must stop to say a word for the character of one of whom Mr. Connell seems all through this question to take little note—the Indian ryot. Can any man have had much to do with the peasantry of this country without having some pity and admiration for the patient, thrifty, toiling ryot, from whose labour the greater part of our revenue comes. I do not mean to say he is an angel. He is crafty, and often ingeniously dishonest; but it is for the most part when he is dishonestly used. To say that he habitually keeps his rent back or tries to defraud the landlord and the "*Sirkar*" is a calumny. The history of every village and district in India will deny it. He has a feeling of honour about his rent which, I believe, few men of a similar class in other countries can boast. If you oppress him, distraint his crops for rent he has paid, sue him for arrears he does not owe, forge the village records, and bribe the *patwari* to swear away his property, he will oppose fraud to fraud, craft to craft; and, in the extremity of his misery, he will flee from his homestead. But deal with him honestly and kindly, treat him like a man and not like a slave, and, I believe, he will pay his rent, even when he has not wherewith all to get a meal. When the crops fail, how can this wretched man, who has to borrow at every harvest the money to buy his seed, who never in his life was out of debt, how can he pay his rent? And when do the rents in Oudh fall due? Enquiry would show that the rents become due before the peasant can cut or sell his crop. What has a man got which he can bring to market early in October? Must he not eat? The early

rice and the maize are what he has to live on. Since the last grain of his spring harvest was consumed, he and his children have had scanty and poor food for many days. His cotton will not be ready for two months. The great tall millets are still unripe: How can he pay his rent? Simply by borrowing at seventy-five per cent. And so it is at the spring harvest. Yet ninety-nine out of a hundred of these men who, barring their plough-bullocks, given to them on trust by the *Bunjaras*, and often still unpaid for, never had twenty rupees worth of property in their lives, do pay up their rent with the greatest regularity. It would be a very bad thing for us if they did not. Instead of crying out for more stringent measures against them,—and except the tortures and incendiary of the native system it is not easy to see what is left—suppose we tried to help them. Suppose that we established a system of loans to these cultivators, which would enable them to get money for their seed and their rent at a moderate cost, it appears to me that it would be a more merciful and probably more successful plan. Such an attempt to assist the cultivator is now being made on a small scale in the North-West. If it succeeds it will be extended elsewhere, and will do more to enrich the landowners and enable them to collect their rents than all the terrors of law that we could arm them with, or that Mr. Connell can recommend.

But it seems that I am wasting my indignation; for it is the under-proprietor who will not pay and he is comparatively a gentleman and a man of position. The relation of the Talukdar to the under-proprietor, as they stand at present, is an Oudh question, and I can only discuss it as an outsider. But it seems to me impossible to treat it as a difficulty caused by a defect and oversight in the law, to be remedied by giving the Talukdar summary powers of distress against the inferior holder; evidently we have not to do here with the mere dishonest recusancy of an impecunious tenant. The under-proprietors are in fact the owners of the land, holding a heritable and transferable right. So far from the Talukdar having no remedy against them, he has the same ultimate remedy against them, which the Government has against himself: their land can be attached and sold to pay their debts. Why then do they prefer to force the Talukdar into court to recover his rent charge? In some cases, no doubt, they have been too heavily assessed, a man cannot pay more merely because part of his payments go to the third party and not to Government. The under-proprietors are in the position of *Zemin-dars*. On them falls all the burden and risk of management. If it has been found by experience that not more than fifty per cent. of the rental can safely be taken as revenue by Government,

there is no reason to expect an under-proprietor to pay seventy per cent. The payment is not easier to him because he is called by a new name and because part of the revenue is received by a Talukdar. But apart from over-assessment which may in some cases be at the bottom of the difficulty, it is evident that there is bitter enmity between the two classes of superior and inferior holders. Mr. Connell tells us what was the case under the native administration, which he apparently wishes to return to as closely as may be : " Under the native administration the Raja, in order " to force his sub-holders to pay, could make use of all the coercive " processes which the revenue collector could employ against the " defaulting independent landowner ; he could arrest the defaulter, " imprison him in his fort, and send his agent with a body " of retainers to collect the rents due from the cultivators ; he " could attach and carry off the under-proprietor's wheat and " sugar-cane ; he could drive him off to the jungle, plunder and " burn down his house, seize his movable property, and even " sell his wife and children, or if he could catch the fugitive, he could " torture him and force him to sell or transfer his share to some other " solvent kinsman." It was no doubt very agreeable to the Rajas to be able to resort to all these measures—' coercive processes' as our author euphemistically calls them—for the collection of their rents. But they can hardly have appeared right or equitable either to the defaulter, or the ' solvent kinsman' who, no doubt, had to undergo them in his turn. It can be easily understood that men who were formerly accustomed to help themselves in this way, feel the legal restraints now imposed on them to be somewhat irksome. But we must not be in too great a hurry to meet their views. We may endeavour to govern by and through natives. We can hardly, at any rate in the present state of European opinion, adopt their methods of administration, even if " it is admitted by those who have paid any attention to these matters, that we must in some degree return to the native revenue system in dealing with these under-proprietary difficulties."

The question of the relations which ought to exist between the Talukdars and the village Zemindars is one depending on the history of each individual case. It is a question distinctly of right. Speaking as an outsider, I am inclined to think that in most of the cases in which the Zemindars refuse to pay their revenue to the Talukdar, it will be found that they contest the Talukdar's rights. There were, as every one knows, two kinds of Talukdars. There was the old hereditary chieftain ; and there was the usurper or revenue collector. From my knowledge of the North-West, I should say, that in very few instances do the village Zemindars kick against the rule of their hereditary

chief. In numerous cases they have disclaimed all rights in his favor, and have recorded themselves as his tenants. Not so with the usurper or revenue farmer. To him they show a very different face. They resent his intrusion as a robbery and an insult. They know that it is a fight for life. He will encroach inch by inch on their rights; he will appropriate their trees and their waste lands; he will keep them waiting for days and weeks when they bring his revenue; he will exact homage and perquisites from them; he will forge deeds against them; he will destroy them. They know this well. Now in many cases the villages that have been included in talukas are the rightful property of the under-proprietors. The Talukdar's connection with them has been that of a revenue farmer, or in some cases of a temporary ally or protector, in others of a money-lender and oppressor. If the summary settlement of 1856 was hasty and unjust to the one side, as no doubt it was, it is to be feared that the no less hasty proceedings which followed the subjugation of Oudh went further than the restoration of a just balance. Hence we now have in many cases a deadly struggle going on between the two parties. The village Zemindars know that their right is indisputable, with the annexation they escaped for a time from the galling yoke of their powerful neighbours. They tasted freedom and enjoyed it. During the mutiny the Talukdars treated them as the Turks will probably treat the Servians. Their villages were plundered, their houses burnt, and their property destroyed. After the mutiny the same power that had freed them thrust them back again under the feet of their oppressors. But they again made their voices heard, and by the Sub-settlement Act of 1866 a certain measure of protection was given to them. The present state of feeling between the two classes is graphically described by Mr. Connell: "The feelings of hatred between many of the old proprietors and the Talukdars have been intensified by protracted litigation in the settlement courts; those who have obtained decrees for sub-settlement are conspicuous defaulters, and those who have been unsuccessful are equally resolved not to pay more rent to the Talukdar than the State can compel them to contribute; the Talukdar strives to ruin them, and they in their turn yearn to see their antagonist reduced to the same straits, as those to which they themselves have been reduced through his agency and the policy of our Government."

Under such circumstances it would be impolitic or rather impossible to increase the Talukdar's powers, and to let him enforce his own claims for rent. Happily with one exception no such proposal is made by Mr. Connell. He is inclined perhaps to take a somewhat one-sided view of the question and to make

more of the inconvenience felt by the Talukdar, than of the injustice we have in many cases done the sub-proprietor. But he sees clearly that remedy in this case must be the separation rather than the closer union of the contending parties. The remedy he proposes in all cases where the sub-proprietors are the real owners of the village, is the complete severance of the village from all direct connection with the Talukdar. The revenue must be collected by the Government officers from the under-proprietors, and the Talukdar must receive his share from the Treasury. His right and power of interference must be summarily stopped. In the justice and policy of this proposal every one must agree. Indeed, no other remedy suggests itself. But Mr. Connell goes on to say, that while it would be dangerous to give the landowner (by which term he means apparently the Talukdar), any power to collect the rents direct from the cultivators, yet he would invest him with power to distrain the crops on the under-proprietor's own farm. This suggestion, if I understand it, is hardly consistent with the other. It would, moreover, tend more to aggravate the present ill-feeling, and would place more opportunities for oppression in the hands of the superior owner than any other measure that could be devised. If the first proposal were adopted and the revenue of sub-settled villages, where such a measure was necessary, were reduced, the true remedy would probably be found for the evils described.

V.

I had intended to notice many other matters discussed by Mr. Connell, more especially his remarks on my proposal to give the Government a right of pre-emption in all cases of sale of land. But the truth is that Mr. Connell's book is so suggestive and touches on so many matters, that adequately to criticise and answer all he says would require much more space than can be given to a review article.

As regards my pre-emption scheme, I venture to say that it has still to be fairly discussed and fairly tried. If it is of importance to prevent the transfers of land going on as hitherto quite beyond our control, I see no way equally good of attaining that end. The whole reason of the proposal depends on the importance of the object. If the importance is great, it is no answer to say that the Collector cannot do the work. I have probably had as much experience of what Collectors can and cannot do as Mr. Connell has. A Collector in the North-West can manage a great many villages, and manage them well. If the work went beyond him, it would of course be necessary to give him assistance. As to determining the purchase-money, the proposal never contemplated any interference with the market

value of land. I believe many of these objections are chimerical. The embarrassed landowners would welcome the interference of Government. When the Collector takes an interest and succeeds in the management of villages, as more than one North-West Collector does, it is surprising to see how anxious men in difficulties are to put their estates under the Court of Wards, and how ready they are to live on a small allowance, and to practice every economy with the hope of escaping from ruin. Nothing pleases the creditors better, in many instances, than to find a prospect of some arrangement being made; and they are often willing to reduce the rate of interest on condition that the estate is put under the Court. If the Government could advance money for the purpose, it would be easy at this moment to take over not only with the consent, but at the earnest desire of the proprietors the estates of many old families who are fast going to the dogs. In many cases careful and economical management would restore their fortunes. But it is out of their own power to effect it. In several cases in the North-West Provinces money has been advanced by Government, and the debts of the proprietors are being paid off.

If the estate was hopelessly involved, and the purchase-money which others were ready to give was extravagantly large, I do not, and never did, advocate that Government should always buy it. But even in such cases, from a political point of view, the money might sometimes be well invested. I insisted strongly in proposing to secure to Government a right of pre-emption, that it was a power which Government might never exercise unless they wished, and that under my scheme they could never be involved in any great failure. A few experiments would show whether the proposal was practical or not. Mr. Connell, as well as other critics, has argued as if the right must always and of necessity be put in force.

I still hope that we shall see this question of the compulsory transfer of land and the indebtedness of landowners dealt with in some large way, and not merely battered about with the small shot of political economists. In the meanwhile, the North-West Revenue Act—by the clause which allows proprietors to be disqualified at their own request—has given us a great weapon for good. A liberal use of this clause will show us how far we can go with advantage, and will probably lead to another step forward.

But I have overstepped the limits which I had assigned to myself. I congratulate Mr. Connell on his book, which I trust will be read by every man in his own service and by every one who takes an interest in Indian politics.

C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE.

ART. VI.—THE LAST OF THE BRITISH BARDS.

THE narrative of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons is well described by Gibbon as "a story familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned." The general reader who has acquired his knowledge of early English history from Hume or Goldsmith, is usually under the impression that, within a very brief space of time after the death of Vortigern, the Saxons became undisputed masters of the island, with the exception of the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, and certain districts in Cornwall and Devon. He little imagines that the struggle for mastery was prosecuted for fully one hundred years, and even then terminated, in a great measure, through the mutual dissensions and jealousies of the British Chiefs, rather than through any superior valour or military skill on the part of the Saxons. It was not until the middle of the sixth century that the present border counties of England and Scotland were finally subdued by the Angles, and that such of the Britons as still preferred freedom to servitude, were driven into the mountainous districts west of the Severn. Such little truth is there in the querulous calumnies of the apocryphal Gildas, who stigmatises his countrymen as "an indolent and slothful race," incapable of forging as of wielding weapons of war, and altogether destitute of manly worth! He uses indeed, very similar language to characterise their long and desperate resistance to the Roman legionaries, who, as he affirms, subjugated "this unwarlike, but faithless, people not so much by fire and sword, and martial engines, like other nations, but by threats alone." In like manner he declares that under that "deceitful lioness," Boadicea, "their backs were their shields against their vanquishers, and that they presented their necks to the Roman swords, whilst chill terror ran through every limb, and they stretched out their hands to be bound like women; so that it has become a proverb far and wide that the Britons are neither brave in war nor faithful in time of peace." Fortunately for the military reputation of the early inhabitants of the British Isles there remains the testimony of the Romans themselves, who never failed to bear witness to the fierce valour of their undisciplined foes, whose fearlessness of death they ascribed to a belief in the transmigration of souls. It is needless to look beyond the Annals or the Agricola of Tacitus to be satisfied that the conquest of Britain by the Romans was an achievement of no ordinary difficulty, and scarcely less honorable to the conquered than to the conquerors.

In the case of the Saxons, however, there was a remarkable difference. The invaders were themselves utterly illiterate, and by the time they had acquired some knowledge of letters were little disposed to celebrate the prowess of their late enemies and still rebellious subjects. Like the mighty men of valour who flourished prior to Agamemnon, Briton and Saxon alike have suffered from the lack of sacred bards to sing of their gallant exploits "in the brave days of old." The Saxons have fared even worse than the vanquished Britons, for in the latter days of the fatal struggle there shone forth among these a galaxy of minstrels, many of whose patriotic effusions have come down to our own times. And yet we find Milton longing for an opportunity to redress the wrong worked by Time's effacing fingers, by rescuing from oblivion, or by inventing, the deeds of high emprise accomplished by Arthur and his adventurous knights:—

Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmine reges,
Arturumque, etiam sub terris bella moventem !
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ,
Magnanimos heroas et O ! modo spiritus adsit,
Frangam Saxonias Britonum sub Marte phalanges!

The early successes of the Saxons were, no doubt, largely attributable to the fact that Maximus had drained Britain of her warlike youth, and thereby laid the country open to the devastations of the Picts and Scots. And before these terrible breaches in the arms-bearing population could be repaired, the various cognate tribes of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes descended at different points of the coast, and by hard fighting won the ground on which they were encamped. But the chief source of weakness on the part of the islanders were the inopportune divisions which disunited their princes and leaders. In the early part of the sixth century the northern portion of England, and the southern and western districts of Scotland were governed by a number of petty independent Chieftains at perpetual feud with one another, who not unfrequently gratified their private animosities by confederating themselves with the common enemy. A notable instance of the horrible character of these internecine commotions is furnished by the battle of Arderydd,* fought between Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw and Aeddan Tredawg on the one side, and Rhydderch Hael, a Prince of Cumbria, on the other. The latter proved victorious, but one of his followers fell by the hand of his own uncle Merddin ap

* The battle of Arderydd is mentioned in the Triads as one of the "three frivolous battles of the Island of Britain," the cause of strife being a lark's nest. According to tradition, 80,000 warriors were slain, among whom were Gwenddolau and

four of Merlin Sylvester's brothers. It may be here remarked that *dd* has the sound of *th* in *then*: thus Merddin is pronounced Merthin, which M. de la Villemarqué distorts into Merzyn.

Morvryn—better known as Merlin Sylvester, or Celidonius, because, being seized with frenzy on discovering what he had done, the unhappy bard wandered about the Caledonian forest until reclaimed by the gentle care of his twin-sister, Gwendydd, the mother of the ill-fated youth whom he had deprived of life. In honour of this Merddin, or Merlin, who must not be confounded with his Welsh namesake, Geoffrey of Monmouth composed a Latin poem, dedicated to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, in which he describes with considerable spirit, though in rugged verse, the insanity of the involuntary nepocide :—

Et fugit ad sylvas, nec vult fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ormis,
Miraturque feras pascentes gramina saltûs ;
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu præterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus, utitur herbis ;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.
Fit Sylvester homo, quasi sylvis deditus esset.

M. de la Villemarqué, in his usual off-hand manner, dismisses the poems attributed to the unfortunate Merddin as unworthy of notice, regarding them as the inventions of a later age. There seems no reason, however, for denying him whatever credit may be due to his wearisome stanzas in praise of an orchard containing 174 apple-trees, which had been presented to him by his patron Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw. The poem is entitled "*Avalle-nau*," or the Apple-trees, and consists of as many stanzas as there were trees in the orchard. According to Mr. Davies, the apparent meaning is not the true one. Merlin, he says, was the last of the Druids, his Christianity being strongly tinged with paganism, and thus, under the pretence of eulogising Gwenddolau's munificence, he dilated on the mysteries of his order. The trees, we are assured, symbolised the constellations, while the apples are the stars, just as the golden apples "which Hercules procured from the garden of the Hesperides pointed at the science of astronomical divination." It may be asked, indeed, what object could be gained by thus confusing knowledge and multiplying words without wisdom? If bardism had practically ceased to exist, to what purpose was it to arrange its symbols in rhythmical order, when there was no one left to interpret them? But mere common-sense objections have little weight with such an ingenious theorist as the author of the "*Mythology of the British Druids*," who discovers the most recondite allusions in the simplest descriptions.

The other poems ascribed to Merlin are very likely apocryphal, though Mr. Davies accredits him with the early portion of "*Hoianau*," or "*Invocation to Pigs*," with a curious specimen of which he favours the unlearned public. It should be premised that pig

is in this instance supposed to be a synonym for Druid, and that Merlin's intention was to warn his brethren to flee from the persecution of Rhydderch Hael, the champion of the Christian faith :—

“Attend, little Pig, thou initiated Pig! Burrow not with thy snout on the top of the Hill. Burrow in a secret hiding-place amongst the forests—a place which has not been noted by Rhydderch the Liberal, the champion of the faith. Attend, little Pig! It was necessary to depart—to avoid the hunters of the water-dwellings, if they should attempt to seize us—lest the persecution should come upon us, and we should be seen. If we can but escape, we will not deplore our calamitous toil.”

Of all the petty rulers who strove to the last to make head against the encroaching foreigners, none has been more enthusiastically commemorated than Urien, Prince of Reged, a district lying along the northern bank of the Humber. This Chieftain's most formidable opponent was the celebrated Ida Flamddwyn, or Flame bearer, of the ancient bards, who married a British lady named Bun, unfavourably immortalised in the Triads as one of the three most unchaste women of the island of Britain. After defeating Ida on more than one occasion, the gallant Urien was treacherously slain by Llovan Llawddifro, or Llovan of the Hated Hand, who had been instigated to the crime by Morgant, a neighbouring Chief, jealous of Urien's renown and influence. The untimely end of this patriotic prince was bitterly bewailed by his kinsman Llywarch Hên, the son of Elidir Lydnwyn, lord of Argoed, and designated in the Triads as one of the “three free and discontented guests of Arthur's Court,” and also as one of the “three counselling knights of the court of Arthur.” A considerable number of Llywarch Hên's poems are still extant, and were rendered into English by Mr. William Owen, afterwards more generally known as Dr. Owen Pughe. After the death of his four and twenty sons, all decorated with the torques, who fell in defence of their native country, Llywarch Hên took refuge in Powys, at the court of Prince Cynddylan. Subsequently he removed to Aber Cuawg in Montgomeryshire, and is said to have been buried in the Church of Llanvor, at the patriarchal age of 150. He was not, however, strictly speaking a bard, but rather a Minstrel-Warrior, for bards proper were forbidden the use of arms, nor was it deemed becoming to draw a sword in their presence. The metre almost invariably employed by Llywarch was called the Triban Milwr, or Warrior's Triplet, and is chiefly remarkable for its severe simplicity. His practice of repeating the same idea through several successive stanzas is, however, very trying to the taste of the present day, which has little patience for monotones.

The praises of Urien of Reged were chanted also by Taliesin, surnamed Pen of Beirdd, or Chief of the Bards. Seventy-eight

poems still exist, ascribed by Welsh scholars to this most incomprehensible of poets. His muse, however, does not lack variety, and his effusions may be classified under many heads—historical, mystical, eulogistic, elegiac, theological, and lyrical. Like Merlin, the son of Morvryn, he appears to have leaned to the Druidical superstitions, while he must be held to have rivalled Pythagoras in his knowledge of his previous impersonations, though many of his appearances upon earth were of a considerably less distinguished character than those claimed by the Samian sage. He says of himself:—

“My lore has been disclosed in Hebrew. A second time was I formed. I have been a blue salmon; I have been a dog; I have been a stag; I have been a roebuck on the mountain; I have been a stock of a tree; I have been a spade; I have been an axe in the hand; I have been a pin in a forceps for a year and a half; I have been a buck of a yellow hue in the act of feeding; I have been a grain of the Arkites which vegetated on a hill; and then the reaper placed me in a smoky recess that I might be compelled freely to yield my corn, when subjected to tribulation. I was received by a hen with red fangs and a divided crest”—and so on, to an intolerable length of nonsense.

Not less enigmatical is his “Priddeu Annwn,” or the spoils of Annwn,* a close translation of which is given in Sharon Turner’s “Vindication of the British Bards.” Annwn represents the *Tartara regna*, the land of shadows, whose king is one of the principal characters in the Mabinogi entitled “Pwyll Pendevig Dyved.” Another of Taliesin’s mystical poems is named “Kâd Goddeu” or the Battle of the Trees, that is of intentions, designs, or devices. Mr. Davies discovers in this poem an allusion to the bardic alphabet, or language of the sages, who employed as symbols of expression, sprigs, twigs, and leaves. Be that as it may, when Taliesin condescends to be intelligible, he frequently displays considerable powers of description and occasionally indulges in touches that border on the poetic. For instance, he likens the onslaught of his favourite hero Owain ap Urien, to “the course of a meteor over the land,” and of an army on the march he says, “their sword-blades tinged with blue the wings of the dawn.” His verses in praise of Owain of Reged are marked also with much fervour and breathe the very spirit of battle, as in his “Gwaith Gwenystrad.”

According to the Hanes Taliesin, the bard was exposed, a new born babe, in a leather bag, and was discovered in a salmon-weir by Elffin, the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, King of Gwent or Monmouthshire. That needy prince manifesting grievous

* Is it superfluous to remind the reader that *w* in Welsh is pronounced like the Greek Omega.

disappointment at finding only a child when he hoped to have had a good haul of fish, the inspired babe apostrophised him in verse, bidding him not to despond for that he, though little, was richly gifted. "Weak and small as I am on the foaming beach of the ocean, in the day of trouble I shall be of more service to thee than three hundred salmon." And he fulfils this promise, for when Elffin is thrown into prison by his uncle Maelgwr Gwynedd, for asserting that he possessed the most virtuous wife and the most skilful bard in the whole world, Taliesin achieves his liberation by chanting some perfectly incomprehensible verses, aided by some utterly absurd miracles. At the same time it is quite clear that the so-called translations of these ancient British poems are for the more part mere guess-work, and at the best are so bald and literal that they miss the spirit, the point, and even the real meaning of the originals.

Taliesin was naturally disgusted with the new order of bards then springing up, who were in fact wandering minstrels, the forerunners of the Breton and Norman *trouvères*. He accuses them of leading lazy, useless, sensual lives, fomenting vice and discouraging virtue, fawning upon the rich and turning their backs upon the poor.

"Minstrels," he says "persevere in their false custom. Immoral ditties are their delight. Vain and tasteless praise they recite. Falsehood at all times do they utter. Innocent persons they ridicule; married women they destroy; innocent virgins of Mary they corrupt. * * At night they get drunk; they sleep the day. In idleness without work they feed themselves. The church they hate, and the tavern they frequent. With thieves and perjured fellows they associate. * * The birds fly, the fish swim, bees collect honey, worms crawl, everything travails and obtains its food, except minstrels and lazy useless thieves. I deride neither song nor minstrelsy, for they were given by God and lighten thought, but him who abuses them by blaspheming Jesus and His service."

On quitting Monmouthshire Taliesin appears to have proceeded to the Court of Urien of Reged, and is supposed to have died about the year 570 of the Christian era. There is some reason to believe that in his early manhood he was one of the pupils of Catwg, or Cadoc, the Wise, at Llanfeithan in Glamorganshire, where he became acquainted with Aneurin. Geoffrey of Monmouth in his "*Vita Merlini*" speaks of him as having visited Brittany and sat at the feet of Gildas:—

Venit etiam noviter de partibus Armoricanis,
Dulcia quo didicit sapientis dogmata Gildae.

The evidence of Galfridus, however, is not always trustworthy, nor is the point of much importance, though it may be not without interest to inquire to whom he alluded under the name of Gildas the Wise. It is generally, perhaps universally, admitted that Gildas was one of the four-and-twenty sons of

Caw, a Strathcluyd Briton who fled from the Angles into North Wales, but subsequently settled in Glamorganshire, According to Gibbon, he was "a monk who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian." No doubt there was a Gildas whose history obtained much favour in early times, but it is by no means certain that that identical history has been handed down to the present day. The internal evidence is decidedly against such a conclusion, and irresistibly so if Gildas and Aneurin were one and the same person. Of Aneurin it is known that he composed the oldest poem extant after those of the classic writers, that he was present at the fatal battle of Catteraeth, and that he afterwards retired to Llanfeithan, and became a disciple of Catwg the Wise. He was, moreover, a native of the district of Gododin—whose inhabitants were called by the Romans the Ottadini—and made common cause with his neighbour and friend Mynyddawg, the Lord of Eiddyn, or Edinburgh, against the Saxons and their British tributaries, or auxiliaries, from Deira and Bernicia. The inopportune hospitality of Mynyddawg proved the ruin of himself and his allies. Three hundred and sixty-three chieftains, wearing the *torques*, feasted in Eiddyn preparatory to taking the field, and while yet under the influence of mead were overpowered and cut to pieces, with the exception of three, Aneurin being one of the survivors. It is probable that he was present in his bardic character as a herald, as he attributes his escape to his "candid muse." But, though he saved his life, he lost his liberty, and was thrown into prison with fetters on his legs, and was otherwise maltreated. From this miserable condition he was at length rescued by the gallantry of Cenau, one of the brave but ill-fated sons of Llywarch Hên. Of his poem entitled "Gododin," only 97 stanzas remain, though it is supposed to have consisted of 363, one for each chieftain who fought on that disastrous day, overcome by mead. Mr. Williams, indeed, endeavours to explain away Aneurin's direct and simple statement of the fact, and refuses to believe that his heroes were a set of drunken barbarians. He also asserts that the battle began on a Tuesday and lasted the whole week, but he omits to adduce his proofs. Taliesin was evidently of opinion that the defeat of his countrymen was attributable to their excessive potations at Eiddyn, for he says: "With Mynyddawg ruinous became their beverage; long the cause of woe for the men of Catteraeth." Nor can anything be more explicit than Aneurin's own words:—

Men went to Catteraeth ; loquacious were their hosts ;
Pale mead had been their feast, and was their poison.

* * * * *

They had drunk together the sparkling mead by the light of rushes
Pleasant was its taste, long was its woe.

* * * *

In fair order round the banquet they feasted together ;
Wine, mead, and mirth they enjoyed.

The ingenious Mr. Davies has, of course, his own peculiar theory on the subject of the Gododin. It does not refer, he insists, to the battle of Catteraeth at all, but to the fabled massacre of the British nobles by Hengist at Stonehenge. Without pausing to examine the very suspicious testimony in favour of the almost incredible story related by Nennius and idly adopted by succeeding writers, it may suffice to remark that Aneurin himself could hardly have been present at a scene, which, if it ever occurred, must have taken place before he was born. Nevertheless we are informed that Gododin is not, in this instance, the name of a district, but a compound word signifying "an uncovered temple," and consequently Stonehenge, while Catteraeth is a corruption of Cadeiriaith, which, being interpreted, signifieth the Language of the Chair of Presidency. Having enunciated this theory, Mr. Davies proceeds to prove its correctness by translating the poem after his own fashion—but it is useless to waste further time and space upon such elaborate fooling. The poem of Gododin obtained for its author the epithet of Mychdeyrn or Mederyn Beirdd, that is, the Monarch of Bards. Welsh scholars all agree in extolling its extraordinary merit—they disagree only as to its meaning. Not one of them hesitates to style Aneurin, "Gwawdrudd," or him of the "Flowing Muse"—but no two coincide in the rendering of his now obsolete diction.

A poem in a different style, designated "The Odes of the Months" has also been set down to Aneurin. The ode to October may be accepted as a fair example :—

"Penetrable is the shelter ; yellow the tops of the birch ; solitary the summer dwelling ; full of fat the birds and the fish ; less and less the milk of the Cow and the Goat. Alas to him who merits disgrace by sin ! Death is better than frequent extravagance. Three things should follow every crime—fasting, prayer, and charity."

It is now time to revert to the question of the assumed identity of the poet Aneurin with the historian Gildas. It may at once be conceded that Aneurin was not the author of the doleful Jeremiad, "De Excidio Britannicæ," nor of the epistle usually annexed to that harsh and stilted effusion of spleen. But it is not equally certain that he did not compose the history so highly praised by early chroniclers, but of which not a fragment has been preserved. The Rev. Peter Roberts, indeed, suggests that the true history may have been suppressed by the Romish priests

so far as it lay in their power to do so, and the "De Excidio" substituted in its place. The style of the latter work certainly does not merit the eulogy pronounced by Lilius Gyraldus, librarian to Pico de Mirandola, who praises the "wonderfully easy style" of Gildas, a British poet, whose elegies he had read. William of Malmesbury, also, has a good word to say for the ancient British historian:—"Gildas," he writes, "neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiæ inter cæteras gentes habent." Mr. Roberts further draws attention to the fact that the only Briton who is mentioned with commendation in the "De Excidio" is Aurelian Ambrosius, and then coupled with the remark that he was "forte Romanæ gentis." It must not be forgotten that at that time the British Bishops held themselves independent of the See of Rome. In their eyes the chief of the Apostles was not St. Peter, but St. John, neither did they pray to saints or martyrs, while the veneration of the cross was regarded by them as an act of idolatry. The monks, however, looked to Rome as their fountain-head, and were ever striving to exalt her grandeur and supremacy at the cost of the independence of their native land. Gildas himself calls Latin his native tongue, and almost invariably misinterprets the meaning of British names. He asserts, too, that there were no native materials for a history of Britain beyond oral traditions, whereas Nennius expressly states in his preface that he had derived his information "partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monimentis veterum Britannicæ incolarum." True, in the apology prefixed to the preface, he is made to contradict himself by the assertion that "nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt," but there are strong grounds for suspecting that Nennius has been scarcely less tampered with than the genuine Gildas. It is not impossible that Mr. Roberts may have alighted upon the key to the mystery in his ingenious suggestion that the first six books of the manuscript brought over from Brittany by Walter Calenius, and translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the real history written by that ancient bard, and which would account for the application of the epithet "Sapiens" to Gildas in his "Vita Merlini."

For the rest, Aneurin is said to have been treacherously murdered—a crime accounted among the "three accursed deeds of the island of Britain." It is also placed among the "three accursed blows of the battle-axe." Nennius, it is worth observing, makes no mention of Gildas in his allusion to the illustrious men of Arthur's times: Though he has space to enumerate among them Talhaiarn, of whom only two brief fragments remain; Cian, surnamed Gweinchgaunt or Gwyngwn,

Taliesin, Llywarch, and Aneurin, he entirely passes over the name of Gildas. If this were simply the monastic appellation of the bard of Gododin, the omission would be natural enough, but otherwise it is difficult to account for his ignoring one who, in the opinion of Lilius Gyraldus, was both a charming poet and a readable historian.

Of the state of society in those times, but little information can be gathered from this brotherhood of bards. The battle and the banquet alone inspire their monotonous muse. Not a line is devoted to love, or to the delineation of female beauty. Swift steeds, and ashen spears, the sparkling mead, and loquacious warriors, constitute the chief topics of their song. Llywarch, indeed, sympathises with the sisterly grief of Eurddyll, bewailing her heroic brother Urien, and Merddin is soothed by his twin-sister Gwendydd, whose son he had slain in the confusion of the mêlée, but these exceptions fail to disprove the conclusion that women occupied a very humble position in the social system of the ancient Britons. A somewhat higher degree of civilization may have prevailed in the southern and midland parts of the island where the softening influences of the Roman occupation had left a more lasting impression than on sea-coasts invaded by Saxon pirates, or on the Northern Borders, harassed by the Picts and Scots. Gradually, however, the foreign barbarians advanced from point to point, after overcoming the fierce opposition they encountered in the maritime regions. Arthur's death at Camlan, and the terrible slaughter of the British on that decisive day, placed the Western and South-Western districts at the mercy of the invaders. The Midland states appear to have submitted, almost without striking a blow in assertion of their independence, but in the mountains of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the Borderlands of Scotland, the ancient inhabitants maintained the unequal struggle through long years of anarchy, until the death of Urien and his gallant son Owain left them without leaders. The interal dissensions of the numerous petty chieftains who ruled each in his little isolated principality, without the faintest idea of patriotism, hastened on the work of subjugation more rapidly and completely than if thrice the number of Angles, Jutes, and Saxons had landed on the shores of the island. To conclude, in the words of the historian of Monmouthshire, "it may be imagined that a declining nation, divided into little communities just emerging from pastoral life governed by hunters, and distracted and enervated by visions of magic and superstition, was attacked under numerous disadvantages by a military people having simple and effectual institutions, though much inferior in many of the arts of peace."

JAMES HUTTON.

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN OPIUM REVENUE.

THE policy of the Government of India with reference to the supply of opium grown in India and exported to meet the demand of consumers of the drug in China, may be briefly described.

India sends as much opium to China as the Chinese will take, and the Government of India derives as much profit as possible from the transaction.

There are two sources of supply in India, *viz*:—Opium grown in British India—in districts where the land is under the direct control of the Government; and opium grown in Native States within the territories of native chiefs; and the method of deriving revenue from the export of opium from India differs according to the locality in which it is grown. The Government monopolises the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in British territory, deriving revenue from the sale of fixed quantities of the drug, at a profit on the cost of production, while the opium grown in Native States is subjected to an exportation tax of Rs. 600 per chest, the growth, manufacture and quantity, as well as quality of the drug exported being subject to no interference on the part of Government.

In British territory where opium is grown under management, the drug is purchased from the cultivators in its raw state at a fixed rate of Rs. 5 per seer (2lbs.) It is then made up into balls and packed in chests, each chest containing 1 maund, 28 seers, and 2 chittacks of opium, or about 140lbs. The Government announces the number of chests it is intended to sell during the year, and auction sales are held accordingly at fixed periods. The annual average number of chests thus sold for the last 10 years is about 46,000, and the average price per chest sold by auction may be taken at Rs. 1,400. The cost to Government of each chest is about Rs. 400, so that the profit by the sale is fairly estimated at £100 for every chest sold, or a nett revenue, in round numbers, of four million sterling.

The details of the working of this system, the manner of sowing and growing the plant, of purchasing, manufacturing, and selling the drug, are all duly set forth in published statistics and reports made by various Opium Agents to the heads of their department. There is no secret about the ways and means of deriving profit out of Bengal opium. The results of the year's crop, the number of chests exported, the price obtained at periodical sales, are all stated, with methodical precision in Gazettes, Reports, and Statistics of the districts concerned in the opium trade, so that it is not intended to notice here with

further detail the system prevailing in Bengal for realizing revenue by the sale and export of opium. Malwa opium is more of a sealed book, few are aware of the different interests that are concerned in its production and trade. It may therefore be worth while to consider this item of revenue as distinct from its counterpart in Bengal, before remarking upon the results of a combination of two systems so utterly dissimilar in application yet working in harmony and depending one upon the other for the production of such an important addition to the revenue of the country.

The opium grown in Native States is known generally as Malwa opium, by far the greater portion of it being produced in the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia and Holkar and other chiefs of the Central India Agency. A considerable quantity is also grown in Oodeypore and some of the states of Rajpootana bordering on Malwa, but the whole produce of this part of the country is brought to one or other of the Government scales established at Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, or Indore, where it is weighed and a pass duty of Rs. 600 per chest levied, before the opium leaves Malwa for Bombay. Opium grown in the territory of the Gaikwar of Baroda is in the same manner brought to the scales at Ahmedabad and thence transmitted to Bombay, the average annual number of chests weighed at Ahmedabad being about 1,200. The returns of weighments made at Ahmedabad, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, and Indore, are included in the Malwa Opium Agency, and all these offices are under the direct supervision of the Opium Agent in Malwa.

Published returns show the following numbers of chests exported to China from the Malwa Opium Agency on payment of the pass duty of Rs. 600, during the last ten years :—

		No. of Chests.	Duty paid @ Rs. 600 per Chest.
1866-67	...	29,260	Rs. 1,75,56,000
1867-68	...	36,101	„ 2,16,60,600
1868-69	...	29,787	„ 1,78,72,200
1869-70	...	35,828	„ 2,14,96,800
1870-71	...	37,608	„ 2,25,64,800
1871-72	...	37,591	„ 2,25,54,600
1872-73	...	42,688	„ 2,56,12,800
1873-74	...	42,112	„ 2,52,67,200
1874-75	...	47,982	„ 2,87,89,200
1875-76	...	38,753	„ 2,32,51,800
Total	...	<u>3,77,710</u>	<u>„ 22,66,26,000</u>

It will be seen that on an average the revenue from Malwa opium is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ million sterling, and this, added to the four millions of revenue procured by sale of Bengal opium, gives a total average annual revenue of $6\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

This is borne out by the marginal statement copied from the last Budget Estimate which gives the actual nett receipts for the past eight years.

1868-69	... £ 6,731,000
1869-70	... „ 6,131,000
1870-71	... „ 6,032,000
1871-72	... „ 7,657,000
1872-73	... „ 6,871,000
1873-74	... „ 6,324,000
1874-75	... „ 6,215,000
1875-76	... „ 6,233,000

In Malwa, opium cultivation is very popular, and notwithstanding that the trade is treacherous, prices fluctuating and the demand varying, the costly preparations made for supply, the allurements of the chances of large profits easily turned, and the stimulus given to the trade by the spirit of speculation and gambling (always strong in the native mind), are so great, that if the monopoly of the Government of India was withdrawn, it is probable the the Native States would increase the cultivation to an extent sufficient to meet the deficiency caused by the cessation of the supply from Bengal.

The sharers in the profits in Native States are many, and each is interested in the extension of the trade. The native chief who takes a high rent for opium land is the first concerned. Rents in Central India for irrigated land vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 30 per beegah,—while land under wheat and other food grains only brings in from 12 annas to Rs. 2, or at the most Rs. 3 per beegah; this is one of the greatest results of opium cultivation in Native States. The chief source of revenue to a native chief is his land. In Malwa, which includes the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia, Holkar and many other chiefs, opium has been the principal cause of the increase of revenue.

Holkar's land revenue of 55 lacs (£550,000), would soon revert to its old standard of 20 lacs, were it not for the rents he takes on opium land, and the same remark applies equally to Sindia, whose rent-roll of 100 lacs (one million sterling), would be enormously reduced were opium cultivation to cease; the enhanced rents levied on opium land would be thus altogether curtailed, and all native chiefs, big or small, holding land now under opium cultivation, would suffer in similar proportion—the ruin of many would be the result.

Again Holkar, Sindia, and other chiefs, derive a further benefit from opium in addition to the profits secured by increased valuation of land, in the shape of a tax taken on all opium leaving their territories. Sindia takes Rs. 24 on every chest as an export duty from Gwalior territory. Holkar, at Indore, takes Rs. 12½

so that to these chiefs the cultivation of opium involves the most serious questions of revenue. Sindia and Holkar, the chief gainers by the growth of the Poppy, may be said to have enlarged their revenues at least 50 per cent., owing entirely to the climate and soil of their holdings being favourable to the production of opium.

The costs and profits of the cultivator in Native States territory are difficult to estimate. Sir John Malcolm, in his Memoir of Central India, volume II, page 359, Appendix No. VII, gives the following table showing the expenses, &c. of cultivating one beegah of opium, in a good, a tolerable, and a bad season :—

Expenses.

				Rs.	As.	P.
5 Seers of Opium Seed	...	...	...	0	9	0
Manure, including conveyance	...	...	...	2	0	0
Expenses of watching the crop	...	...	...	4	0	0
Weeding, Ploughing, Sowing, &c.	...	...	...	6	0	0
Gathering the Opium	...	...	...	4	0	0
Watering the Field	...	...	...	6	0	0
Oil for mixing with the juice of the Poppy	...	...	...	1	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	6	0	0
Total				29	9	0

Receipts in a good season.

				Rs.	A.	P.
5 Seers of Opium	...	...	...	40	0	0
Sale of Seed, 3 Maunds	...	...	...	4	0	0
				44	0	0
Deduct expenses	...	...	...	29	9	0
				14	7	0
Deduct village dues	...	...	...	1	8	0
Nett profit to cultivator	...	...	...	12	15	0

Receipts in a tolerable season.

7½ Seers of Opium	...	...	...	30	0	0
Sale of Seed	...	...	...	2	11	0
				32	11	0
Deduct expenses	...	...	...	31	1	0
Nett profit to cultivator	...	...	...	1	10	0

Receipts in a bad season.

5 Seers Opium	...	...	...	20	0	0
Seed sold	...	...	...	2	0	0
Loss to cultivator	...	...	...	9	1	0
				31	1	0

But since the period of which Sir John Malcolm wrote, opium cultivation is more thoroughly understood and the value of the drug has increased as has also the cost of cultivation. The average profits now realized on a beegah of opium land may be calculated at Rs. 20 in a good year; this may be increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 30, while in a bad year only Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 can be made out of the same quantity of land.

The rent of opium land in Malwa varies so much, and there are such great differences in the means which cultivators have at their disposal, that it is impossible to estimate accurately the average profits from cultivation. For instance, one man may have to pay only Rs. 5 rent for a beegah of opium land, another for the same area pays Rs. 20;—the rents varying according to the rules in force in different Native States,—the rules or system of revenue collection varying again according to the taste or idiosyncrasy of the chief. Then, too, one man may have to dig a well, which from the fact of the water being far from the surface and only to be got by blasting through several feet of rock, will cost him as much as Rs. 1,000; while another more fortunate in his selection of a site will make an equally good well for Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, finding water within a few feet of the surface, and the soil easy of penetration. Great differences exist also in the means of labour at the disposal of cultivators. A man with a large family can look for larger returns at less cost than one who has to hire labour throughout the operations necessary for the growth of the opium crop.

There is another crop always obtainable from opium land. The opium is only in the ground for 4 or 5 months, *i.e.*, during December, January, February, and March, the same land is used during the rainy season—June, July, August, September and October for the production of a crop of *mukka* (Indian Corn) which grows readily in the manured soil of old opium fields, gives little or no trouble in cultivation, and is very remunerative. A maunee of *mukka*, or 480lbs. of grain, is an average outturn for a beegah of opium land, and will sell for Rs. 12 or Rs. 15, and the profits of this crop, generally about Rs. 10 or 12, must be set down to the credit of the year's transactions in addition to the profits secured by the opium.

It may be well to note the manner in which Malwa opium is grown, as exemplifying the amount of capital that has first to be laid out, the labour and cost incurred by the cultivator and the advantages as well as the risks of the crop; and it is in these questions of cultivation, rent, profit and loss, that the difference between the cultivator in British territory and his brother in

Malwa is most marked. One has everything found him ; land and capital to him are matters of no consideration ; his own labour is alone called for to produce his wealth, ; he is invited, urged and encouraged to grow opium on allotted ground ; he is entitled to advances of money to meet his requirements, and he is assured of a fixed price for the raw material produced. The other has everything on his head—the outlay for well, bullocks, implements and manure—the expenses of cultivation, the chances of climate as effecting the growth of the crop, and the fluctuations in the value of the outturn. The district of Malwa, where the country is from 1,300 to 2,000 feet above the level of the sea,—soil rich, temperature moderate, and water plentiful, is particularly favourable to the cultivation of opium. The land prepared is generally the thick, black loam known as cotton soil, it must be situated in close proximity to a well, or to the bund (or dam) of a tank, or river, as the greatest essential to the crop is a regular and sufficient supply of water at fixed periods. High ground, commanded by a supply of water and having a gradual slope on all sides, is the most favourable position for opium culture. As soon as the rain crops have been gathered, and when the cold weather, which generally commences in November, is at hand, operations are commenced. The ground is first ploughed four times, if possible on four successive days—it is then harrowed, the heavy clods of earth lying on the surface being carefully broken and pulverized. Next, manure is applied, generally at the rate of from 10 to 12 cart loads an acre, the ground is divided into squares of about 10 or 12 feet, separated from each other by ridges of earth, the beds thus formed being in rows sloping from the rising ground whence comes the water supply. Channels are then dug to enable the water drawn from the well to run into and flood each of the square beds. These are so arranged that the cultivator can divert the course of the water from one row of beds to the next, by making or closing temporary openings in the channel. When all these preliminaries are arranged, the ground is flooded, and on the next day the opium seed is sown, scattered thickly over the prepared surface. Another inundation follows on the day after the sowing, and again seven or eight days afterwards. The crop generally appears on the 8th or 10th day after the seed is sown. The first growth is thick and vigorous. When the plants have grown to the height of six or seven inches, and are thick with leaves, the beds are weeded, and at least one-half or sometimes as much as two-thirds of the young plants are pulled out and thrown away. The strongest and healthiest only being left to grow to better size in the extra room thus made for them.

After this the earth round the remaining plants is loosened to allow of their free growth. A fortnight later another watering is

given, and again in a week more, by which time the plants are well grown, and the buds of the flower forming. When the flower opens no more water is given; the flower drops off in a day or two, and the capsule remaining on the stalk gradually swells until it has attained its full growth. The crop is then ready and the process of extracting the milky juice from the capsule commences.

Each poppy-head or capsule is bled by means of an instrument like a three-pronged fork, the incisions pierce the outside coat of the capsule only sufficiently to allow the juice to exude slowly. Each poppy-head is thus bled three separate times; the incisions are generally made in the afternoon, and the juice which exudes is collected the following morning. Only a small quantity is obtained from the incisions in each of the poppy-heads, and this portion of the process is the most tedious. One man working with the scraper from 7 to 10 A.M. (the best time of the day for collecting the opium), will with difficulty get together 3 or 4 ounces of *chick* (as the exuded juice is called). When it is remembered that each poppy-head has to be bled three times and scraped as often, it can be conceived that this method of collecting the opium juice entails a vast amount of labour. The juice taken off the capsules is collected and thrown into earthen vessels where it is mixed with linseed-oil (in the proportion of two parts of oil to one of *chick*) to prevent evaporation.

Here the cultivator's interest in the opium ceases. He sells the *chick* to the Bunniah at the rate of from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per seer. The conditions most favourable to the growth of opium are clear, warm, sunny days with little wind; and cool, dewy nights. Rain always injures the crop, beating down the young plants and damaging the heads. Frost, which is not at all exceptional in Malwa during the cold months, destroys the plant in one night, if it has not grown strong enough to resist the cold; and when the capsule is ripe for incision, rain causes the juice to dry,—cloudy weather prevents it exuding, and strong winds injure by causing the pods or capsules to knock one against the other.

In spite of all that is said against the cultivation of opium, there are yet some points which may be urged, if not in its favour, at any rate as apologies for its existence. Opium is one of the best crops for the cultivator;—the returns from it are large and quickly made, and the land, after the opium crop is removed, is available for another (cereal) crop during the year. The wells that have been sunk consequent on the increased attention to the cultivation of opium, have greatly improved the condition of the country. Wells ensure safety from the

results of bad seasons, and improve the appliances for agriculture of the people of the country, besides bettering the sanitary condition of villages. In India the value of water cannot be over-estimated, and the wells, tanks, and dams built originally in the cause of opium have proved beneficial in many other ways.

Sugar-cane is grown in large quantities in land precisely similar in its conditions to that best adapted for opium; and it is noteworthy, that where opium is most grown, there also sugar-cane will be found in the greatest quantities. Frequently the two are to be seen maturing side by side, and under the care and culture of the same peasant, and supposing that the trade in opium were suddenly to collapse, an event frequently and strenuously predicted by financial alarmists, however heavily the blow might fall on Government, in places where it has assumed the monopoly of the trade, it is satisfactory to think that the cultivator at least would not be a heavy loser, for after the shock caused by the depreciation of opium, and the consequent loss to him on one year's crop, he would still have water and a prepared soil to his hand for the growth, in the following season, of an equally profitable crop. In Malwa sugar-cane and opium are the only crops for which the land is manured, the black soil is so rich as to be able to produce the usual cereal crops of the country for 30 successive years without deterioration.

The Bunniah, or local dealer, having purchased the *chick* from the cultivator, prepares it for market. It is tied up in lumps of from 25lbs. to 50lbs. in weight, and hung in double bags of sheeting cloth in a closed and dark room, so as to avoid air and light; while the spare linseed-oil with which the *chick* is mixed, is allowed to drop through. The bags are allowed to remain suspended for a month or six weeks, during which period all the oil that can be separated comes away; they are then taken down and their contents emptied into large vats from 10 to 15 feet in diameter. In these the opium is mixed together and worked up with the hand, until having acquired an uniform color and consistence throughout, it becomes tough and capable of being formed into masses. It is then rolled into balls weighing about 10oz. or 12oz. each; these being thrown as they are formed into baskets full of the chaff of the seed pods and dried opium leaves, in course of time harden until firm enough to admit of being packed. The opium is now ready for market, and is sold by the *dhurrie*, i. e., 5 seers (10lbs.). The average price per *dhurrie* in Malwa is from Rs. 40 to Rs. 70, varying in relation to the existing price in China. This simple process of manufacture contrasts with the costly preparations of the drug in Bengal. The difference is by no means marked when the Bengal and Malwa opium meet

in the China market; the demand for one is as great as for the other, and for purity, strength and flavour Malwa opium, made as it is in the most primitive and simple fashion, holds its own in spite of the extra care and expense devoted to the manipulation of the Bengal drug. The fact is that Malwa opium depends entirely upon its purity, and the merchants knowing this, are careful that the trade is kept up to the mark, so that no adulterated opium is ever sent from Malwa to China.

The opium purchased by merchants from the local manufacturers is kept stored in chests containing about the amount on which duty is charged, *i. e.*, 140lbs. 4oz., and as advices are received from Bombay of the demand for the drug, is brought to the scales where it is weighed, and the duty per chest collected by Government officers.

The method of weighing opium and collecting the duty is as follows:—

The merchant presents a memorandum showing the number of chests he wishes to send to Bombay, at the same time he gives to the office of collection, *hoondees*, or bills payable at sight, in Bombay for the whole number of chests he wishes to despatch. The chests are received, and after being counted and numbered, a proportion of 10 per cent. of the whole consignment is selected at hazard, and the contents of these are weighed, their actual weight being the standard by which the average of the whole consignment is estimated. In illustration of this,—a merchant wishes to send 100 chests from Indore to Bombay for export to China. He first gives a memorandum showing the number of chests he has to send (100), accompanied by *hoondees* on stamped paper for Rs. 60,000 (at Rs. 600 per chest). The chests are then received into the Government godown or weighing-house, where each chest is numbered from 1 to 100. The officer in charge of the office selects 10 chests (say Nos. 42 to 51), which are opened in his presence and carefully weighed. At 140lbs. 4oz. (the amount allowed for each chest) the proper weight of these ten chests is 1,402½lbs., but on weighment we will suppose they are found to aggregate 1,407½lbs., or 5lbs. more than the allowance. The average for the whole consignment is calculated on this basis, and 50lbs. are withdrawn from one of the chests weighed, the opium returned to its owner, but is not allowed to be included in the consignment. In the same way, if the actual weight of the ten selected chests is less than the amount allowed, the merchant is permitted to make good the deficiency in similar proportions. The object being to obtain an average throughout the consignment of 140lbs. 4oz. per chest.

The cost of collecting revenue from opium in British India has been estimated at two millions sterling yearly, the return

shown being only of net revenue. Of the duty levied on Malwa opium the whole may be considered net revenue. The annual cost of collection is about Rs. 14,580, and on the 38,753 chests which passed the scales during 1875-76, the stamp duty on the *hoondees* alone realized Rs. 15,040.

The action of Government in monopolizing so large a portion of India's supply of opium to meet the demands of China is open to remark. China can only consume a certain amount of opium in the year, and when Government appropriates to itself the right of providing two-thirds of that supply, it naturally represses the export of opium grown in Native States; for the amount Malwa sends to China must be regulated by the demands of China, less the supply which the Government of India determines to make, and so, while the revenue from British opium is tolerably certain, the Malwa contribution is fluctuating and dependent on the changing demand in China.

The remedy for this would be to abolish the Government monopoly, and so place the export duty on all opium from India on the footing of a regulated pass fee per chest. But here arises a difficulty. Taking the total number of chests supplied to China as 83,000, of which Government supplies 48,000, at a net profit of £100 per chest, and Native States 35,000 on the payment of Rs. 600 per chest, the total revenue realized is £6,900,000; but assuming that 83,000 chests is the limit of the demand of China, it is obvious that by fixing the system throughout India on the pass duty of Rs. 600 per chest, Government would be a loser to the amount of £1,920,000, or at the rate of £40 per chest on the opium grown in British territory. So that to ensure Government against a severe loss of revenue, an increase in the standard of pass duty would be necessary. Supposing the rate to be raised from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 per chest throughout India (the monopoly being abolished, and the number of chests supplied to China continuing at 83,000), the revenue would be £5,810,000, still considerably less than the duty now collected.

The question depends upon the price of opium in China, and the following table shows how this varies:—

During 1869 the price per chest was from 615 Dollars, the lowest quotation (in August), to 727 Dollars, the highest (in March).

In 1870 the price varied from 627½ Dollars (in April), to 680 Dollars (in August and September).

In 1871 from 622 Dollars (in January), to 675 Dollars (in September).

In 1872 from 565 Dollars (in December), to 630 Dollars (in January and February).

In 1873 from 550 Dollars (in January), to 600 Dollars (in March and May).

In 1874 from 595 Dollars (in February), to 620 Dollars (in January).

In 1875 from 540 Dollars (in January), to 605 Dollars (in October).

So that it would be rash to calculate on any average greater than 600 Dollars per chest as a continuance ; or taking the China Dollar at Rs. 2-4-0 the price in China at 600 Dollars per chest would be Rs. 1,350.

It has been shown that a chest of British Indian opium costs Government, when brought to auction at Calcutta, Rs. 400, and adding to this Rs. 700 duty and Rs. 100 freight and insurance to China, there would still be, a profit of Rs. 150 to the seller in China or a little more than 11 per cent.

But this concerns opium manufactured within easy access by rail of the port of exportation. It is easy to understand that opium grown in the wilds of Malwa, carted through many miles of country (taxed by each Native State through which it passes), through Indore to the rail, and so on to Bombay, would not pay either the merchant or the cultivator at this rate.

Again if the monopoly were to be gradually relinquished and the pass duty gradually raised, the change should be commenced when the price of opium in China is showing a tendency to rise, whereas the experience of the past four or five years shows, that the increase in the supply of opium has so far satisfied the demand as to materially depreciate the drug in China.

Much may be said of the quantity of opium grown in China itself, and though the quality is known to be inferior to that grown in India, still the cultivation of the plant, in whatever degree it is carried on, must affect the quantity required from external sources. However the question is viewed, it appears that under existing circumstances, India cannot alter her opium policy without causing such an injury to her financial position, as she could by no means afford to bear. Of the probabilities of what might have been, had the system been different from the first, it is useless to speak. Doubtless if the Government of India had originated its system of export duty on opium, by a regulated tax on every chest that left the country, independent of the territory in which it was produced, the opium revenue might have been as large as it now is, and the Government would certainly have held a more dignified position as regards its interest in the trade ; for the encouragement of the growth of a plant which is valueless except as producing an intoxicating drug, the efforts that have to be made, sometimes at the cost of large

sums of money spent in advances held out as a tempting bait to cultivators, to increase the amount of cultivation or to retain it to the extent which it is considered will be sufficient to meet requirements, and the imputation that India trims the opium market in China, and forces a vice upon the Chinese, are all matters of which the administration of India would be relieved with advantage. The present action of Government naturally stimulates the growth and export of opium. Under a regulated system of pass duty this would be changed; the imposition of a heavy tax on the opium sent to China would have at least the appearance of a repression rather than an encouragement of the trade.

The effect of a limit on the area of poppy culture in British territory has been to make the Native States of Malwa (Gwalior, Indore, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Jowra, Jhallawar and Banswarra) gardens of wealth. It has changed the scanty subsistence of petty chiefs, Thakoors and Zemindars into large incomes. Every villager now has his plot of opium ground, of which, with high cultivation and three months' labour, the produce is sufficient to maintain his family for the season. The soil, which in British India, where the growth of the poppy is prohibited, lets at Rs. 2 a beegah, in the territories of Sindia and Holkar, commands from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The land revenue of these Native States is entirely dependent on opium. If the Government of India abolished its monopoly and allowed the poppy the same freedom as wheat or grain, there would be a crash in the revenues of the great chiefs. The opium produced in Bengal, even now stands in higher estimation in China than the Malwa grown opium. Free cultivation there or the withdrawal of Government interference, would tend to press Malwa hard, and at once bring the land rental to the average of that in British India. The competition that as a natural consequence would ensue, would, for some time to come, paralyse the chiefs and people of Native States.

In Malwa as things are, opium makes the land 12 or 15 times more valuable than it would be for other produce, and irrespective of the revenue which chiefs derive from opium-bearing land, they realize an excise on the drug, after manufacture and before it reaches British ground, varying from 12 to 25 per cent. on its value. Any radical change in a system which produces such results would shake the prosperity of India.

One of the chief results to India of the opium policy, is the increase in the amount of land under opium cultivation, both in British territory and in Native States. In 1865 the area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to the growth of the poppy was 434,515 acres. In 1872 it had

extended to 557,067 acres, being an increase of 122,552 acres in 7 years. In 1868 Government determined to limit the total area of land for opium cultivation to 790,500 beegahs (or 494,062 acres), the extent at that time under opium being 762,989 beegahs (or 27,511 beegahs less); but the returns of 1872 show, that in that year 63,005 acres or 100,804 beegahs beyond the limit which Government had assigned itself in 1868 were appropriated for opium.

These statistics prove not only that a large quantity of land is under opium cultivation, but also that the area taken up, has year by year, greatly increased in spite of decrees to the contrary. No precise estimate can be formed of the area of land in Native States under poppy, but taking the yearly yield of opium at the rate of the number of chests exported, assuming that the average number of chests is 35,000, and that the average yield per beegah is 8 seers (each chest containing 70 seers or 140lbs.), we have 305,000 beegahs, or 190,625 acres as the area under opium, that is about one-third of the total (557,067 acres) area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to this purpose. The total area of poppy cultivation in India under this calculation is 747,692 acres. A very large quantity of Malwa opium is consumed in India, and it is generally the case that of one year's out-turn little more than half is exported, so that although the exported opium is produced from the cultivation of 747,692 acres, the whole area of land in India assigned for the crop is unquestionably larger. But this is a matter of internal economy, and can hardly be considered a result of the policy of the export of opium.

It occurs to any one who studies the question of the food-supply of India, that so large an area being devoted to the growth of a noxious drug, to the exclusion of food-grain, must cause an increase to the price of food; and it is a fact that prices have risen greatly during the last 10 or 12 years, not so much in the British territory of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, but to a great extent in the Native States of Central India where Malwa opium has become the chief object of cultivation. But there are other causes besides the increased cultivation of opium which may be assigned for the rise in prices; and defenders of the trade may with justice accuse cotton of doing as much damage to the out-turn of food-grains in India as opium,—for a larger area is sown with cotton than with the poppy.

Of the profit to all in India concerned in the trade there can be no doubt. In British India the cultivators profit by the growth, the rate at which Government purchases the raw opium from them (Rs. 5 per seer), gives a considerable balance beyond the cost of production, and the readiness with which

cultivators have taken up the large area of land now covered with the poppy, proves that to them at any rate, the crop is popular and remunerative. The system instituted by Government of advancing money at easy rates is tempting, and accounts in some measure for the readiness with which the cultivation has been extended. The supervision of the growth and manufacture of the drug affords employment to a large number of men; and the fact that, on an average, 2 millions sterling are annually expended in the collection of the net revenue derived from British opium, shows how much is distributed among all classes by the crop, its collection, manufacture, and export.

The result to China of the British opium policy is the increased amount of the drug which is year by year sent from India to supply the wants of the Chinese.

Dr. Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India* contains the following :—

"China cannot be said to have indulged long in the vice of opium-eating or smoking. All the early writers on that country are silent as to its use except in medicine. During the reign of the Emperor Kein Ling, who reigned from 1733 to 1796, a tariff was regularly established, and the duty fixed at 3 Taels for 100 Catties, and 2 Taels, 4 Maie, and 5 Candarines for fees. Previous to 1767 the number of chests imported did not exceed 200 yearly. In 1773 the East India Company made their first venture in opium, and in 1796 it was declared a crime to smoke opium.

Since then in spite of pains and penalties, edicts and warnings, the consumption increased until in 1837 it had reached the enormous extent of 40,000 chests, valued at 25 millions of Dollars."

Since 1837 the amount of opium supplied by India to China has been more than doubled. The yearly average may now be computed as between 80,000 and 90,000 chests, or at the rate of 140lbs. per chest, in round numbers 12 million pounds of opium.

The use of opium in India has grown very general, the abuse of it has been practised for many years by the natives of Rajpootana as well as Assam, yet the deleterious results of the drug are by no means marked. The race of natives has not deteriorated, and it is an admitted fact that Rajpoots and Sikhs who have, in the history of India, proved themselves the best men of the country, are descended from a long line of opium-eaters. And though it may be well urged that the Chinese would be better without opium, it may be said on the other hand, "it has not done them much harm as yet, and we have tried their capabilities of consumption to the best of our ability during the last 30 or 40 years."

Every country probably has its national vice, and China may say, when twitted with the fact, that she supplies one-seventh of the revenue of the Government of India by her demand for an intoxicating drug, that she has not yet reached the standard of vice attained by the nation which, in one year, contrived to drink

itself clear of the sum awarded to America by the Geneva Arbitration.

As regards the charge against opium, that it is an incentive to crime, Sir Benjamin Brodie writes:—

“The effect of opium when taken into the stomach, is not to stimulate but to soothe the nervous system.” A man under the effect of an over-dose of opium is useless, and unable to exert either his physical or mental powers, but he is not mischievous, and is less liable to commit violent crime than a man inflamed with drink.

To summarise briefly:—India supplies China with an intoxicating drug, and is urged thereto by the fact that a large revenue is derived by the export of opium from India to China.

The growth of opium receives encouragement and support from the Government of India in certain Provinces where the monopoly of the trade remains in the hands of Government. The objection taken to this means of collecting revenue as compared with the system of a regulated pass duty adopted in another portion of India, is valid, but if the system were changed, the quantity of opium sent to China would probably remain the same, Government being a loser to the extent of about £40 on every chest exported from British territory. The cultivation of opium has not seriously injured the agricultural prospects of the country, and there is a great deal to be said of the advantages gained from the growth of the crop, by those who have the best right to the interests of the land. The Chinese consume opium to a great extent, the use of the drug is general both in India and in China; the abuse of it is rare in both countries, and the results far from alarming, while as a source of revenue to India, the tax on opium though subject to great fluctuation, and consequently a precarious item of Budget Estimate, has proved itself a substantial aid, increasing year by year in power. It supplies her with nearly one-seventh of her revenue and saves the people from taxation to the amount of more than six millions sterling.

When Mr. Pease, M. P. advertised in nearly all the newspapers at home and abroad his offer of prizes of £200 and £100 for the best and second best Essays on British Opium Policy and its results to India and China, he would have been more just to those whom he invited to expend time and tissue in committing to paper their thoughts on the subject, and he would have saved the three adjudicators appointed by him to test the value of the Essays submitted, much weary plodding through reams of manuscript, had he added to his advertisement a note to the effect: that—Nothing but an attack upon the present policy, would be regarded “as qualifying for

"either prize." The result of the adjudication showed that a denunciation of the policy was really all that was wanted. Writers under the *noms de plume* of *Let Providence Provide* and *Fiat Justitia* gained the prizes, and those who submitted Essays not entirely in the spirit which Mr. Pease wished to invoke, had the satisfaction of learning, after nearly two years of waiting for the result of the adjudication, that the writer of the Essay which gained the first prize was a gentleman connected with Colonial Emigration, and that the Reverend gentleman whose labours had gained the second prize was the Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Let Providence Provide! what could have been the song sung to this tune? Was it a request that Providence would provide opium for the Chinese, or a supplication that the same power would contribute $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling every year to the revenues of the Government of India?

The common-sense view of the question at any rate embraces both of these considerations, and does not admit of maudlin sentiment alone. Let principles of right and wrong be duly weighed, but at the same time let not facts be overlooked; if it is determined in the cause of philanthropy to condemn the export of opium from India to China, let it be at the same time arranged, in the cause of justice, to compensate those who would be more injured by the cessation of the trade, than the Chinese have been by its continuance during many years. Give the Government of India $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling annually, Mr. Pease, spend another couple of millions in compensating those who are now gaining a livelihood by the growth of the plant and the manufacture of the drug in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces; put your hands into your pockets for another yearly dole of 4 or 5 millions for like compensation to the Chiefs and people of Malwa, and then you will have right as well as reason on your side, when you next beseech Parliament to abolish the opium trade between India and China.

In the foregoing pages some of the material considerations of the question have been advanced, and attention has especially been drawn to the results to Malwa of the growth of the poppy and the trade in opium. It should not be forgotten that among the many obligations of the Government of India, the rights and interests of Native States, their inhabitants and their rulers, demand a large share of attention. If there is delicate ground in India, it is to be found in territories ruled over by native Chiefs, whose relations with the Paramount Power are peculiar when they are not vague; and such questions as the abolition of a trade which affects Native States to the extent that Malwa is interested in opium, cannot be taken up and disposed of without the consideration

due to a measure which involves political as well as material rights. The opium revenue is derived from a trade which rightly or wrongly has been carried on with increasing vigour during the past 50 years: putting aside all reflections on the immense aid that has been afforded to the administration of the country by the revenue thus collected, and of the financial difficulties which would spring from the loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions in a Budget of 50 millions, we have still to consider the principles of justice which would be involved if native Chiefs found that the trade which had swelled their land revenues from small pittances to large incomes, was suddenly to collapse. The point for consideration is not only whether the Chinese would be better without opium—the trade has grown upon India, until like Sindbad's old man of the sea, it is impossible to shake it off. With resources stretched to their finest point, the expenditure is barely within receipts. A loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions could only be met by Government, by a tax which, as experience has shown, is one of the most distasteful and unsatisfactory administrative measures that has ever been introduced into India. Much as we deplore the insatiable appetite of the Chinaman for the drug, and deeply as we regret the fact that we taught him to crave for it, we must not forget what the growth of poppy has done for Native States, and what the results of the past 50 years are to them.

When the Maharajas Sindia and Holkar produce sums of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling on 4 per cent. loan for Railway extensions in their territories, a tribute of thanks is certainly due to opium, for to opium the Chiefs owe their land revenue, which year by year has rapidly increased, and so enabled them to amass great wealth. A measure which would entail financial difficulty on the Government of India, would force financial ruin on Native States; and in addition to the other troubles which India would encounter, she would have to devise means for ridding herself of the spectacle of a group of native Chiefs dependent upon her for support, ruined by the cessation of a trade which has raised them from indigence to wealth, and which has for half a century been carried on with the support and encouragement of Government, with great advantage to India, and with no palpably evil results to China.

D. W. K. B.

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

1. *Resolution by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1899 ; dated 22nd August 1873.*
2. *Notification by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 223 ; dated 21st January 1874.*

WE still remember the surprise with which one day, long ago in England, we glanced through some article or pamphlet in which it was absolutely taken for granted that these Eastern subjects of ours, loving a foreign better than a native rule, would not for the world see the sovereignty over them pass from the glorious Company of Merchants trading with the East Indies to the grandest Maharaja or Shâhinshâ that ever washed the feet of Brahmans, or led the armies of Islam to victory. What an unnatural people ; what an extraordinary preference ; and what a very proper field for occupation does India in that case certainly present to a pious and moral nation like our own, were some of the reflections which the perusal of that essay suggested. And yet if the matter had been inquired into, it would soon have appeared that, even at the period in question, that is any time between five and twenty years and half a century ago, unbelievers were abroad who doubted whether the people of this country really cherished any such sentiments as those thus sometimes ascribed to them. Take, for example, the following, from the pen of one of the most amiable and philosophical observers who have ever made India their study, namely, Bishop Heber. The passage occurs in his Lordship's well-known "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India," in 1824-25, (vol. i, pages 404-5), and was suggested by the anarchy and oppression which met his eye during his progress through the kingdom of Oudh :—

"I asked if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English government. Captain Lockett said that he had heard the same thing : but, on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindustani enables him to do, familiarly with the *Sowars* who accompanied him, who spoke out, like all the rest of their countrymen, on the weakness of the king and the wickedness of the Government, he fairly put the question to them : when the Jamadar, joining his hands, said with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries, keep us from that." "Why so," said Captain Lockitt, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude, and the honour of our nation would be at an end." There are indeed many reasons why high-born and ambitious men must be exceedingly averse to our rule ; but the preceding expression of one in humble rank, savours of more national feeling and personal frankness than is

always met with in India. He was a soldier, however, and a Musalman, who spoke thus. A Hindu *raiat* might have answered differently, and it is possible that both accounts may be true : though this only can I vouch for as authentic."

The question handled by the good Bishop in the above sentences has subsequently exercised, as is well known, many another mind than his : and the steps which were taken by the Indian Government itself, about ten years ago, to have it discussed and if possible cleared up, must be fresh in the memory of many readers of this *Review*. Members of Council and heads of Local Governments and administrations had then an opportunity afforded to them of recording minutes about it to their hearts' content. And yet we do not know that any definite conclusions were deducible, or were ever deduced, at least from all that was then written. Not only was it the old story of the picture always being painted by the man, and never by the tiger ; but the subject to be brought out was, we rather think, obscured ; owing to the treatment bestowed upon it being allowed to drift at times out of its own proper channel or direction. Much forcible writing was expended in proving that the people of India, *si sua bona norint*, were bound to receive us as heaven-sent teachers and masters. But that, as a plain matter of fact, they actually did so, was not so fully ascertained. The question is not one which we intend dealing with in the present article, or on which we profess ourselves able to throw any clear light. We do not, indeed, see either the necessity or the advantage of indulging overmuch in disputations of this nature. Here we are because God has so willed it ; or, to put it differently, because Clive and others succeeded in effecting what all the enterprise of François Martin, and all the eminent qualities of Dupleix, had been unable to accomplish before them. Here too, we shall continue to rule and govern till our little part in India's history is played out. And if ever it be thought desirable that a plebiscite should be taken in regard to us, then, perhaps, the only real way to do it would be to send our European supports, horse, foot, and artillery, right-about face out of the country, under the stipulation that they would not be re-called. It would then soon become apparent whether they who wished to retain the numerous blessings of British rule, or they who would rather submit themselves to some wholly different master or masters, formed the stronger party among our Indian subjects. But until the folly seize us of instituting some such crucial test as that, the less said the better, perhaps, about the people of this country whether as one body or as a preponderating number of separate bodies or classes, preferring foreign to native rule.

A still more complicated question than the above, and one more

closely bearing on the subject of our present article, is this: Must the several large tracts of independent territory which still break the continuity of our own possessions on the map of India be regarded as sources of strength or of weakness to the great imperial system of which they now form so important a part? Much conflict of opinion has prevailed, as our readers are aware, on this topic also; some high authorities having pronounced those States valuable *points d'appui*, or centres of support, relatively to our own empire; while other and equally high authorities have looked upon them in just the opposite light.

Thus, for example, Sir Charles Napier, writing from the recently acquired Province of Sindh, in the end of 1845* :—

* * * "With all the internal native principalities, it is not possible to hold India, without an accumulation of debt, and final ruin. The Nizam's territory ought to be consolidated with the Bengal territory, as a grand base from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Indus, and the army should then be organised in four grand corps, viz., 30,000 on the Indus; head-quarters and civil Government at Lahore or Multan. 25,000 on the Godavari; head-quarters and civil Government at Hyderabad. 25,000 on the Bharamputra; head-quarters and civil Government at Calcutta. 50,000 at Lucknow, or Agra; head-quarters and head-seat of civil Government in India: 20,000 for connecting posts.

* * * * "With this immense reduction of force, the army would still be far more imposing; as four large armies, each concentrated, would make a show to frighten all Asia; but our empire must be one empire, not broken by internal independent princes."*

Similarly, and a few years later, Lord Dalhousie himself, when he had held the office of Governor-General for rather less than a year, thus recorded what Sir John Kaye has described as the "earliest exposition of his political creed :"—

"No man," wrote the great Scotsman, "can more sincerely deprecate than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary from considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of the tranquility of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of States that may lapse in the midst of them: for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength; for adding to the resources of the public treasury; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby".

These be brave words, my masters. It is superfluous to mention that the policy which they were used to advocate has long ago ceased and determined. There is not much greater likeli-

* See the Life and Opinions of Lieutenant-General Sir W. Napier, General Sir C. Napier, G. C. B.; by K. C. B., vol. iii, p.p. 343-44.

hood of that policy being ever reverted to than of the world witnessing another crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. And yet it must not be inferred from the mere fact of the general question of our attitude towards Native States having been settled in favour of their just rights being respected, and their independence maintained, that an equally definite conclusion has at the same time been formed on the minor issue of the effect which their presence exercises on the foundations of our own power. For to assume that our present policy towards the feudatory states of India was decided upon either for the sake of certain advantages to ourselves which were believed to be derivable from them, or because of our not feeling strong enough to pursue to the bitter end the process of supplanting them, would be tantamount to supposing that the charter of security which the Royal Proclamation of 1858 conferred upon the princes of this country was dictated, not by the principles of right and justice but merely by motives of expediency, or of timidity. Indeed, if any one imagine, that because a few scattered principalities are still governed by native rulers, the soldiers of our three mercenary armies,* and the vassal-nobles of Oudh and the Punjab, are more likely than they would otherwise be to bear with fidelity the yoke of their foreign masters, he falls into as grave error as if he were to argue that because on the occasion of the great Mutiny certain native princes hesitated to make common cause against us with our own disorganised and half-distracted soldiery, a similar attitude will certainly be maintained by the same princes or their successors, if ever a real military and political movement, having its roots in some solid stratum, be aimed at our Indian Empire.

The foregoing remarks have not been penned in the vain hope of rendering less problematical than before the much canvassed topic in immediate connection with which they have been hazarded. Many of the political features which belong to the Independent States admit indeed of being clearly recognised. For example, our own place and duties towards them are becoming better and better defined with every year that passes. But whether they themselves should more properly be regarded in the light of bulwarks or of quicksands, relatively to our own position in this country, seems to us at least to form one of those theo-

* That Bacon's own countrymen should have needed any such terrible lesson as the mutiny of the Bengal army to impress upon their minds the truth of the following Baconian maxim, may even perhaps seem strange :—

“As for mercenary forces, * * *
“all examples show that whatsoever
“estate or prince doth rest upon
“them, he may spread his feathers
“for a while : but he will mew them
“soon thereafter.”

retical questions which it is impossible to determine, and not very necessary to discuss. Our object has merely been to show the extreme importance which belongs to such States, from whatever point of view they are regarded; and, *par inference*, the weighty issues which are involved in any measure instituted by the Government of India with the view of adding to the efficiency of that department of the public service by means of which our relations with feudatory princes are maintained, and our communications with them conducted.

That the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department which is cited at the head of this article has been framed with no less high an aim than that just stated is evident from the text of the Resolution itself; notwithstanding the cautiousness with which it is worded and the modesty with which its several provisions are unfolded:—

“His Excellency in Council observes,” says the Resolution in question “that at present the pay of political appointments is local; and came to be fixed at the present rate from a variety of circumstances, often of a fortuitous character; such, for instance, as the standing of the particular officer who was selected for the post at the time being, or the temporary importance of the particular duty out of which the appointment originated.

“The attachment of fixed pay to particular appointments, other than the very highest and most important, leads to many difficulties and complications. One of the most obvious inconveniences is that, once an officer has been appointed to a Political Agency, it is often difficult to transfer him to another Agency, where his services would be of more advantage to Government. Still more frequently, however, the effect of the present system is to render a transfer necessary, when there are the strongest reasons against it. When, for instance, the time comes for the promotion of an officer who has done good service in a particular appointment, and has acquired a valuable degree of knowledge of a Native State, there is no means at present of doing him justice, except by removing him to another and more highly paid appointment. Often, indeed, the character of the work is known to be so very different that, in preference to filling up a vacancy by offering it to an officer of merit who has gained his experience elsewhere, it is found necessary to nominate one who, though of lower standing and possibly of inferior merit, has the accidental advantage of possessing to a larger extent the local knowledge and special experience which are felt to be indispensable. In such cases the result is inequality of promotion, and consequent uncertainty in the prospects of officers.

“His Excellency in Council has therefore resolved henceforth to make the pay of Political officers, except in the highest grades, personal, instead of being attached either to one particular place or to one particular class of appointment: so that an officer will carry with him the pay of the grade to which he belongs, to whatever post he may be appointed.”

After prescribing the mode in which shape is to be given to the views thus broadly stated, the same Resolution thus proceeds:—

“His Excellency in Council believes that these arrangements are calculated to conduce to the greater efficiency of the Political service; to define more clearly the position and prospects of Political officers; and to enable the

Government of India to make better arrangements than are now practicable, both for the selection of candidates for political employment in the first instance, and for the transfer of officers to different appointments from time to time as circumstances may require. At the same time, His Excellency in Council desires most carefully to guard against the impression that the reorganisation and grading of the service is intended to interfere with the power which the Governor-General in Council has hitherto exercised, and in the public interests must continue to exercise, of selecting from any of the branches of the public service for political employment, especially in the higher grades, any officer whom he may consider to possess the necessary qualifications and especial aptitude for political duty. There is, probably, no department of the Government service in which it would be more undesirable, in making selections for appointments, to be guided solely by departmental or seniority claims."

The above order, on its first appearance three years ago in the *Gazette* of the Government of India, may possibly have been mistaken by some for a mere amalgam of Secretariat red tape and financial cheese-paring—a kind of great clerical effort towards pigeon-holing the members of the political branch, for facility of reference, in nicely lettered compartments, at the same time that their allowances were clipped all round. But if ever any such idea was formed, the way in which the arrangements notified in the Resolution have subsequently been carried out, must surely have led to the measure itself being regarded, not only as an honest admission that the political department in the form it had come to represent contained certain weak points or flaws, but as a more or less statesman-like attempt to reorganise it.

To speak of reorganization in connection with the service which claims the noble army of Malcolms, Pottengers, Outrams, Henry Lawrences, Herbert Edwardes, and others, as more peculiarly its own, may sound strange to some. But were it not for the natural disinclination felt to introduce into these pages descriptions which might, however erroneously, be supposed to be drawn from actual life, it would be easy to show how urgently in point of fact reorganization was needed. The strength of every position is surely that of its weakest, not of its strongest, part; and because chance may occasionally have sent a Metcalfe to Hyderabad, or a Henry Lawrence to Lucknow, it is hardly safe to infer that the same blind power may be depended on always to depute not less effective Residents to the same and other equally vital centres. Certainly no branch of the service, not even perhaps the Army Clothing Department, has had greater liberties taken with it than the political, in the way of officers being appointed to it, as it were at random, and that too in its highest grades. Lord Ellenborough himself could hardly have placed on the Bench of the High Court, for example, a man who had never faced a pleader, or opened a work on jurisprudence, in the whole course of his life. But the Indian Political has sometimes

been thought to be born, not made ; and though it was reserved for a certain Local Government, on a recent notable occasion, to record the first official statement of such a principle, yet the practice itself is an old one of sending men as Residents to native courts, on grounds akin to those on which fine old chargers are drafted into the stud, or young gentlemen of good family appointed to the Australian, not to say Indian Police, namely, the absence of suitable employment for them of any other kind. Cavillers might say, indeed, that a species of trap-door for the entrance of the very class of *emeriti* now referred to into the political service of the future also has been expressly provided in the clause of the Resolution which is designed, as its words run, " Most carefully to guard against " the impression that the reorganization and grading of the service " is intended to interfere with the power which the Governor-General in Council has hitherto exercised, and in the public interests " must continue to exercise, of selecting from any of the branches " of the public service, for political employment, especially in the " higher grades, any officer whom he may consider to possess the " necessary qualification and especial aptitude for political duty." But so long as those words are construed in the sense in which we believe them to have been written, we cannot conceive any one taking exception to so reasonable and wholesome a reservation. Close services, we all know, are rife with evil ; and an occasional top-dressing with the best available material in the whole country, ought to prove as advantageous to the political department itself as it must certainly be conducive to the interests of the Empire. And yet, on the other hand, should it turn out that the intromissions witnessed in the new service do not essentially differ in their character or history from those which sometimes occurred under the old *régime*, then we do not see how the reorganization can be expected to prove much more than nominal. For to induce a number of public servants to devote their lives to the acquisition of certain special capabilities, in order, as they suppose, to become fitted for the performance of certain remarkably difficult and delicate duties, and then from time to time intrust those duties, before their very eyes, to some soldier who has just brought a brigade of native troops to the brink of mutiny, or some civilian whose advancement beyond a certain moderate stage in his own proper line is clearly an impossibility, merely because the former may have won his spurs on some famous field, while the latter is illustrious only for the blank and blameless tenor of his private life, would simply be to undo with one hand the work that had just been performed with the other.

Recognising as we do the general value of any measure tending to reform or reorganise the political department, it seems needless to criticise too closely this first and very considerable step

in that direction. And yet it has to be admitted that several of the provisions of the orders now being reviewed are open enough to question. Thus, for instance, it may be said of them that they are scarcely conceived in the spirit of the time-honoured principle of recompensing a man according to the work which is allotted to him; since they contemplate the transference of a political officer from perhaps an assistantship in some obscure Native State, where his duties and responsibilities have been very small, to, it may be, the cantonment magistrateship of some large and important station, without any corresponding improvement being at the same time made in his salary or position. Moreover, the allowances which have been assigned to Residents, Political Agents, and Political Assistants in the several grades respectively, have been framed so much on the 'one straw a day' principle, that we do not see how the Resolution itself and the scale of emoluments which has been framed in connection with it can have proceeded from one and the same mind. That great Financiers have not invariably proved great Generals is a fact which might easily be demonstrated. That they have frequently been statesmen of the first-water cannot however be denied. And yet, we suspect, many a measure has been shorn of all that was statesman-like about it in its transit through the bureau of some financial Rhadamanthus whose whole soul was concentrated in his year's budget.

That a Political Agent should receive less pay while guiding the course of events in Bhopal or Boghelcund, for example, than is drawn by a Deputy-Commissioner of the second-class for collecting the revenues of some small district of a non-regulation British Province is one of those anomalies which time and common sense between them may perhaps be trusted sooner or later to remedy, in spite even of Finance Ministers. At present, however, the actual state of the case is as just mentioned; one consequence being that members of the civil service are not encouraged to enter the political department, except at an advanced stage of their career, and then, fit or not fit, at the top of the tree. That a portion of the high culture and taste for historical and speculative—often, indeed too speculative—inquiry for which the Indian Civilian is now perhaps even more honourably distinguished than ever, should not have been turned in the direction of Native States is, we think, to be regretted, for the sake of those States themselves; while the benefit which would accrue both to the civil service and the empire could a certain number of young civilians be kept constantly passing through the ranks of so thoroughly general and imperial a department as the political would be considerable. Doubtless, the exceptions to what we are about to remark are numerous; but still on the whole, perhaps, as matters stand, our heads of

Provinces and members of Council are too often men whose minds have been prevented from attaining the full power and proportions naturally inherent in them, owing to their service having been chiefly spent in one corner of the empire only, even though that corner may have been the Panjâb. Moreover, there is nothing like residence in a Native State for disclosing to our view the people of this country in their true and natural light, and at the same time drawing out our sympathies towards them; since there are to be seen princes and nobles, soldiers, statesmen, and priests, performing high functions, and carrying on all the affairs of Government, without much advice or assistance from Europeans. We lately heard an intelligent civil officer predict something like ruin to his district, merely because it was understood that his successor in charge of it was to be a native, though not so much as the name of the latter had then transpired. Had our friend served for a couple of years in a tolerably well-ordered Native State, he would probably have been saved, for all the rest of his life, from such partial views. For a long time, it is true, there has been no room for the appearance of Akbars, or Sivajis, or Ranjit Singhs, among the people of this country. But any one who has, for example, watched the Maharaja Sindhia manœuvre his army on the plains round Gwalior, or studied the skilful hand played during all these years by the master-spirit of the Nepal darbâr, or observed the administrative ability manifested by Sir Salar Jung and Sir Madhava Rao, cannot but have had his views considerably broadened in consequence. All this though is a digression, arising out of our remarks on the too scanty pay attached to the political service under the new *régime*; and on the unfortunate effect which this has had in diminishing the attractions of the department for civilians.

There is one other point which we desire prominently to notice before closing these cursory remarks, namely, the disadvantage under which the political branch labours, as compared with the other great divisions of the State, in being without any chief of its own to administer it and direct its affairs, in immediate communication with the Viceroy. Other departments, as is well known, have each its recognised head, and responsible representative in the Supreme Council of the Empire. And it is hard to understand why the same should not be the case in regard to a department which deals with questions so weighty and delicate as those sometimes cropping up among our feudatories. Viceroys, it is true, have often professed an honourable pride in being their own Foreign Ministers; and certainly the portfolio of this department is one which must be constantly in the hands and under the eye of the Governor-General himself. But

none the less, perhaps indeed all the more, on that account should the representative of the Sovereign not be left, as now, to seek for advice in unknown and irresponsible quarters, on the occurrence of difficulties involving at once our own honour or prestige, and the vital interests of some great principality. The old dogma about 'nature abhorring a vacuum' may have no place in the modern science of physics. But it expresses in its own way a great law of the moral and material worlds for all that. And as surely as counsel has to be sought, while no officially constituted authority is present to afford it, will amateur, and possibly dangerous advisers rush in to fill the void. The Foreign Secretary, it will here be said, is at once the virtual head of the political department, and the official adviser of the Governor-General in matters relating to Native States. Granted. But not to dwell on the possibility of its so happening that that functionary has graduated in some wholly different school than the political, it may be taken as certain that even the ablest and strongest Secretary can never rise so completely above his own proper position of Secretary as to fill towards his Chief the same place that a member of Council would fill. Rather than afford grounds for the imputation of being "led by their Secretaries," high authorities have sometimes submitted themselves more or less to the guidance of others who were far less safe advisers. And if the records of the Foreign Office were open to us, the true history of many a little fiasco that has occurred might possibly be found to be this, namely, that the Viceroy, disregarding for the nonce the views of the Secretary, has adopted those of some higher functionary; who, however great his ability and wide his experience, had never enjoyed the opportunity of studying the political features and springs of action which belong to Native States.

We trust these remarks will not be misunderstood as if they originated in the idea that Viceroys are dependent, on the guidance of others in carrying on the Government of this country. To a certain extent doubtless they do, and must, frequently fall back upon such aid; for no man can reason or act with safety except on data which accurate knowledge of facts and ripe local experience alone can supply. But our point goes no further than this, that as members of Council, and not only Secretaries, have been appointed for the support and assistance of the head of the State in his conduct of revenue, military, financial, public works, and legislative affairs, his hands should be similarly strengthened in regard to the disposal of political business also.

Not only would the political member be selected from among those who combined with the ripest judgment the most varied practical experience of Native States, but his knowledge of

their condition and affairs would no doubt also be occasionally refreshed by means of tours. Through his instrumentality, the several Political Agents would be kept abreast with the policy of the Government of the day. Native chiefs, when they saw him from time to time make his appearance within their territory, would feel more sure than ever that nothing was likely to be done at the outposts which had not been planned and resolved upon in the citadel. And the Government of India itself, from having always at its command sound and unbiassed testimony as to what lines of action were expedient, and what inexpedient, what simple, and what hardly worth the candle, would be saved from the danger of pressing for the performance of impossibilities, and afterward blaming their local representatives for failing to accomplish such objects.

But yet another marked advantage would, in our humble opinion, follow from an arrangement like that now advocated. Doubtless the presence of so strong and able an adviser at the Viceroy's right hand would do much to prevent the thread of political affairs from becoming knotted or entangled. But supposing a complication after all to occur in some Native State, nothing would be easier than for the Foreign Minister to proceed quietly to the spot and set matters right, without either the local representative being discredited, or outsiders apprized that circumstances of a special nature had arisen. The actual history of events at Baroda during the last few years is still too recent to be used with propriety, whether to point a moral or adorn a tale. But what that history *might* have been, had the Nestor of the political service, and Inspector-General of Augean stables to the Indian Government, occupied during those years the position of political member of the Supreme Council, and sole adviser of the Viceroy in all matters having reference to Native States, is a question which we leave our readers to ponder over for themselves.

ART. VIII.—THE NINE-LAKH CHAIN : OR, THE
MARO FEUD.

BEING THE FIRST PORTION OF

The Lay of Alha.

FYTTE VIII.

In Kariya's camp his court was placed,
His chiefs were there, a crowd :
There came a messenger pressing in haste
And his camel groaned aloud.

He drew the chain, the camel knelt,
And down he lighted near ;
He stood and bowed, he cried aloud,
That all the chiefs did hear.

" Mahoba men from Mahoba are come,
Thy house a ruin they make ;
Suraj lies slain on the battle plain,
Till his body home thou take."

Prince Kariya started from his seat,
And eke his captains all ;
The hair of their head stood up with dread
Such evil chance should fall.

His long boots creaked as he forth did come,
And the shield on his shoulders rang ;
" Give the drummer the pledge that he beat the drum,
On his wrists gold bangles hang."

From tent to tent the tidings went,
Each warrior grasped his sword ;
Camels were groaning, horses were girthed,
And howdas with silken cord.

Twelve pair of kettle-drums sounded alarms,
The trumpets and conchs also ;
The Maro host stood ready in arms,
At the beat of the drum to go.

The Pathans* of Shahabad† were there,
 Hight Ranga and Banga bold ;
 Quoth the Prince, " In Mahoba a touch-stone‡ rare
 Turns iron and steel to gold.

" The Mahoba men to our borders came ;
 To you I yield the prey."
 Then loud they shouted Ali's name,
 And soon to selle sprang they.

To his elephant-ward then Kariya cried,
 " Make ready Pachawad strong ;
 And Papiha beside, if a horse I would ride,
 Shall be led by his groom along."

When Kariya saw them at the yett,§
 He donned his harness fine ;
 As his foot on the howda stair he set,
 He was ware of an evil sign.||

" O Pandit, say what this sign may bode,
 My heart misgives me sore—"
 Then the Pandit took his star-time book,
 And conned his Vedas o'er.

" The Node the twelfth house darkens," he said,
 " The eighth doth Venus fill ;
 The baleful Saturn stands o'erhead,
 In the tenth the Moon works ill.

" I rede thee back to Maro go;
 Nor tempt, my prince, the fray ;
 The times are cross, the stars work woe,
 Stir not a step to-day."

" Let pedlars' sons the omens heed,
 Who traffic and trade alway ;
 Let peasants stay the stars to read,
 Ere they crown for their marriage day.

* Afghans, but of course at this date they had not passed beyond the Punjab.

† I suppose the district in Behar is intended.

‡ This which was gained by a predecessor of King Parmal, and the

wealth it produced, are renowned in many of the ballads.

§ Gate.

|| Almost every incident in the ballads is foretold by the omens. Sneezing is one of the most unpropitious.

"Are Kshatri youths to fear a freit,*
Who the warsmith's steel devour?
The force must march, the drum must beat."
So Kariya rode that hour.

A murmur of marching men there rose,
The dust turned day to night;
With a creaking of cannon the army goes,
With a rushing of chariots light.

The force swept on like a storm-cloud bank,
And before went the banners of red;
Kariya ranged his troops in rank,
And slow to the ground did tread.

Silent he lifted his brother's corse,
In a litter to Maro sent;
But he roared amain as a tiger roars,
As back to his seat he went.

"What child of man can equal my might?
Is my match in the Rajput race?
Whose hand has been raised my Suraj to smite?
Let him answer me face to face."

Bold Udan galloped forth a space,
And loud he made reply,
"The Rajput who dares meet thy face,
Thy match in fight, am I.

"No Dasraj I, bound with a chain,
Thy captive unaware:
Whom in the stone mill thou hast slain,
His skull thy tree doth bear.

"Now am I come to avenge his fate,
And the fire of my heart to slake;
When I beat down proud Maro's state,
And make of her site a lake."

"Let none of the men of Mahoba go,
Be smitten every head;
Fire all my cannon and sweep the foe,"
Cried Karingha with eye-balls red.

* Omen.

The Nine-Lakh Chain :

There was loading of cannon and ramming of ball,
 And priming and lighting the pan ;
 His friend from foe might no man know,
 Such a smoke overhead began.

The rockets screamed, the guns roared loud,
 The arrows whistled and flew ;
 Headlong like bolts from Indra's* cloud,
 Fell many a warrior true.

Camel and horse fell one by one,
 The elephants screaming lay ;
 Too hot to touch was every gun,
 Yet none drew back from the fray.

Torn were the hands of the archers tried,
 And slack each good bow-string ;
 But lances were plied and garments dyed,
 So fast the blood did spring.

" O servants none, but brothers to me,"
 Bold Udan cried around ;
 " Your names, if from the fight ye flee,
 For ages seven are drown'd.

" The Sawan † month must soon be past,
 The flower must drop to earth ;
 The mother's time must come at last,
 And rare ‡ is human birth.

" The leaf that from the bough may part,
 It never more can grow : "
 Thus Udan cheered his Rajputs' heart,
 And led them on the foe.

As the wolves the sheep, as the lion the kine,
 As the schoolboys drive the ball ;
 So onward pressed the Mahoba line,
 And drew their good swords all.

As the parrot pecks the woodland nut,
 As the leaf, neath the betel knife ;
 So down was many a stripling cut,
 Ah woe to the widowed wife !

* God of the sky.

† July, August. It seems to be a
 month of holiday especially for

Women.

‡ In the cycle of transmigrations.

There was weeping for father and weeping for child,
And weeping for wife new wed ;
And weeping for fate of mother mild,
Whose son is before * her, dead.

Both armies that day made right good play,
And sore were the strokes they gave ;
But Maro at length fled scattered away,
And few their lives could save.

When Kariya saw his soldiers fly,
His elephant forward he drave ;
He loosed the chain from the canopy high,
And there to Pachsawad gave.

"Thou hast eaten the salt of the Baghel long,
Now help, 'gainst this evil blast ;
Let none of the foe to Mahoba go,
Take Udan and bind him fast."

Ranga and Banga stood thereby,
And Kariya turned and cried,
"Shall a mere boy my house destroy,
And humble Maro's pride ?

"Let none escape of Devi's sons,
Down from their horses smite :"
The two Pathans then charged at once,
With Kariya on their right.

Through troop and line Pachsawad raged,
He whirled his chain around ;
The stoutest chief who combat waged,
He dashed him to the ground.

The host of Udan wavered and broke,
For life did faint hearts fly ;
"Now, Udan, now," fierce Kariya spoke,
"Bold knight, prepare to die."

"I would not fly," quoth Udan high,
"Were all my flesh beshred."
The massy mace Karingha bore,
He dashed at Udan's head.

* And therefore cannot perform the funeral rites.

He 'scaped the blow, he spurred his steed,
That it reared to the elephant's crown ;
So mickle of might did Udan smite,
Came the canopy shivering down.

" Pachsawad, now thy lord obey,"
Fierce Kariya thundered amain ;
" Let him not take the Mahoba way,
Bind fast with thine iron chain."

He swung the chain on Bendula's mane,
He bound his arms full fast ;
Udan he swept to the howda aloft ;
Then all men stay'd aghast.

FYTTE IX.

Alha's court and Devi's tent
Were in the acacia wood ;
Saying " 'Tis long since Udan went,"
She at her tent door stood.

" Why comes he not ?" She strained her eyes
The distant road to see,
When she was aware of Rupna there,
Mahoba's herald he.

And when she saw he weeping stood,
She halsed* him tenderly :
" Why weep so sore, my Rupna good ?
And how may Udan be ?"

" O lady, thou amiss hast done,
To trust such boys in fray ;
They never smelt the smoke of gun,
Nor saw the swordsman's play.

" When Kariya fierce set on our line,
Was none could stand his ground ;
Pachsawad strong who erst was thine,
Fast Udan's arms he bound."

She fell to ground in deadly swoond,
But soon for her litter sent ;
The pennon flapped o'er the bearers twelve,
So fast to the field she went.

* Embraced.

A mother's yearning filled her breast,
For fear she nothing shrunk ;
As it were a cow her calf caressed,
She clasped Pachsawad's trunk,

" I reared thee up in my house from youth,
And gave thee milk good store ;
O little of grace, was this thy truth,
My Udan to bind so sore ? "

At her words a shame o'er Pachsawad came,
" I was pledged to the King Jambay ;
I have eaten his salt, 'twas in me no fault
I should bind thine Udan Ray.

" Were Malkhan now to the batt'le sent,
He would soon set Udan free : "
Then Devi quick to her litter went,
And straight to the camp came she.

" O Malkhan brave, thy younger save, "
She cried with streaming eyes ;
" On the battle plain, by Kariya ta'en, "
A captive bound he lies."

" Now, Alha, hear, " brave Malkhan said,
" Let all thine army come ;
I must go to the ground where my brother lies bound ; "
Then loud they beat the drum.

He blessed the World-mother and Rama's name,
The feet of the earth and the sun ;
So forth from his tent brave Malkhan went,
And thus to his mare begun.

" If I boiled thee carrots in days of spring,
And gave thee oil in rain ;
If Malhna the Queen thy milk did bring,
Full bowls for the filly to drain ;

" In Maro here, this land of fear,
Be thou my stay, O mare ! "
Then did she arch her neck and rear,
And proudly paw the air.

" A long farewell to all things dear,
 To life a long farewell ! "
 So all the army marched in fere *
 When Malkhan sprang to selle.

To the field of fight they came with speed,
 In Kariya's front he spake ;
 " Upon herbs on which asps have breathed can'st feed ?
 The lioness' milk canst take ?

" A ladder'gainst Paradise gate can'st place ?
 Can'st bind a brother of mine ?
 Let a Kshatri answer me face to face,
 If one be in the Maro line."

Now a pretty boy in sooth," said he,
 " But I rede thee home return ;
 Lest I deal, as with Dasraj I dealt, with thee : "
 Then Malkhan's eyes did burn.

His sword flashed bare, he spurred his mare,
 That she reared to the elephant's crown ;
 Pillar of sandal and pinnacles gold
 At his stroke came toppling down.

The driver laid on strokes well told,
 Not a step Pachawad went ;
 His trunk between his tusks he rolled,
 And down his knees he bent.

And Alha then with all his men
 Came charging o'er the plain ;
 With a battle shout their swords flashed out,
 Like the sweep of the hurricane.

" Pachawad doth play me false to-day ;
 He quits the foremost line : "
 Karingha's soul was troubled sore,
 And round he turned his eyne.

Then straight he bade Papiha bring,
 And lighted down to ride ;
 From his courser's back did Malkhan spring,
 And sat by Udan's side.

* Together.

Udan unbound he laid on the ground,
And Rupna Bendula led ;
Queen Devi down from her litter came,
And worshipped Pachsawad's head.

With the sandal free, so fair to see,
She painted his frontal wide ;
" Behold I entrust my sons to thee,
Now help in this perilous tide.

" Lo Alha, here thy father's beast,
Mount up, my son, and ride : "
He climbed and stood on the painted wood
And sat as he grasped the side.

" Fight on, my merry men," Alha cried,
Take each his fill ; the game : "
Though swords by both were briskly plied,
With a rush Mahoba came.

They beat down all like a desert bare,
Nor high nor low could stay ;
They, who long gowns were proud to wear,
Fled through ravines away.

Then fast did Udan to Kariya go,
At the gallop he came and cried ;
" My turn 'tis now to deal the blow,
Look thou my stroke to bide."

Karingha turned his cruel eye,
To Ranga called and said ;
" Let none of the men of Mahoba fly,
Go, smite them every head."

" Ho ! stand," stout Ranga 'gan to cry,
" O son of Mahoba's King ;
Strike turn by turn till one of us die ;"
Then together their chargers spring.

He struck him once, he struck him twice,
But never the buckler cleft ;
At the third stroke the good blade broke,
And the hilt in his hand was left.

Then on Narayan Udan cried,
And on Kali's feet also ;
With drawn sword galloped to Ranga's side,
He smote and laid him low.

Now Banga was near and his sword drew he,
But Dhewa spurred from the right ;
" Fight we and see what is God's decree ;"
Then struck he with all his might.

The blow on Dhewa's buckler fell,
And broken was Banga's blade ;
" A summons is come from the lord of hell,
And near is my death," he said.

Than Dhewa wheeled and smote on the right,
Nor buckler nor pad could save ;
Through twelve mail rings did the good steel bite,
And from shoulder to waist it clave.

When Ranga fell and Banga as well,
Karingha was troubled sore ;
He struck with his mace at Dhewa's steed,
But his blow the buckler bore.

So Bhikham's* son was wounded none,
But his horse seven paces reeled ;
And Udan thereon with his good sword drawn,
Came spurring over the field.

But Udan's steed he smote with his mace,
That he reeled five paces back ;
Was never a chief could hold his place,
'Gainst Kariya's fierce attack.

Then Udan rode to the brave Malkhan,
He joined his hands and spake ;
" No match for Kariya's strength am I,
Or a captive in chains I'd take."

When Malkhan heard, he onward spurred,
Eight paces off 'gan cry ;
" Now Kariya, sit thou warily,
For know thy death is nigh."

* Apparently another discrepancy with the prologue where his father is called Rahma.

His Bardwan* broad sword in wrath he drew,
He struck with all his strength ;
But never a whit on Malkhan it bit,
Not even a barleycorn's length.

Then Malkhan drew sword and remembered his Lord,
And Narayan's† name he said,
And Maniya fair, Mahoba's ward ;
So he smote off Kariya's head.

Down Udan sprang and the head he took,
And thus to Alha spake ;
"We have slain the foe and laid him low,
Then here we our camp should make.

"I mind when we marched from Mahoba, then
Queen Malhna spake from the door ;
'I bless you my sons, and I bless you again,
But when shall we meet once more ?'

"Then I gave her my word for eight short months,
And now is a year gone by ;
And surely I fear she sheds many a tear,
'Why comes not Udan Ray ?'

"Send Kariya's head her heart to ease :"
Then his word liked Alha well ;
In a litter he laid the head and he bade
The herald the tidings tell.

A young horse saddled was standing there,
And Rupna leapt thereon ;
The bearers were yare‡ and the litter they bare :
So he to Mahoba is gone.

FYTTE X.

Queen Malhna looked over lake and hill,
On the topmost turret raised ;
All day she was standing, standing, still,
All night she waked and gazed.

* These weapons are generally described as coming from this town in Bengal,

† Vishnu as the Supreme Being.
‡ Ready.

The Nine-Lakh Chain :

She watched the road where earth met sky,
" My youngest long doth bide."
If a distant traveller met her eye,
" 'Tis Udan at last," she cried.

Queen Malhna stood on the topmost stair,
She looked over dale and down ;
And she was aware of Mahila there,
Came riding to the town.

Slowly, slowly she down did win ;
" What ails my sister ? " he said,
" And why is thy body grown so thin,
And thine eyes with weeping red ? "

" Ask not, O brother, what ill I fear,
For how shall I bear to tell ?
Alha and Udan from infants I rear,
Malkhan and Salkhan as well.

" To war in the Maro land they went,
And there come no tidings here ;
They promised eight months should not be spent,
But now there is past a year."

" There are floating, O sister, such rumours of bale,
It likes me not to say ;
Two Maro messengers told the tale,
They passed by my garden way.

" The Banaphars, they said, were slain and each head
Was hung on a fig tree high : "
The Rani fell to the ground as dead,
And the twelve queens loud' gan cry.

" Who will ferry us over this stormy sea,
Since sunk is our golden isle ? "
" Will weeping bring back the dead ? " quoth he,
" Be patient, my sister, the while.

" Go, bid thy Brahman choose the day,
And memory's rites provide ;
For each wife her bracelets must cast away,
A widow, the sea* beside."

* As in English, used for a lake.

Now the litter to Parmal's court was led,
Then out and spake the King ;
" Ill rumours are spread that our youngest is dead ;
O herald, whose head dost bring ?"

He joined his hands, " O speak not so ;
The lads are in health," he said,
" They have wroken* their father on false Maro,
And have sent me with Kariya's head."

Up from his seat rose the King Parmal
And drew the curtains apart ;
" An thou tarry to go to the painted hall,
The Queen will have stabbed her heart."

And, when the herald reached the yett,†
The Queen came hurrying soon ;
She saw the litter with blood was wet,
And fell in deadly swoon.

" Ill rumours are spread that Udan is dead ;
Now tell me the truth, my son : "
" O mother, four sons King Jambay had,
Now Udan hath slain each one.

" They have razed the fort of th' acacia trees,
They have wrought their work in the land ;
Prince Kariya's head, thy mind to ease,
They send thee by my hand."

The litter curtains he drew apart,
Karingha's head to show ;
Then glad was Rani Malhna's heart,
To hear they had quelled the foe.

" O brother Mahil, thou shouldst have died,
Ere such false rumours tell ;
My sons are living each one," she cried,
" They have wroken their father well."

" Come, eat in the palace, my Rupna good : "
His hands did he join and say,
" By thy leave, O mother, I cook no food,
It would hinder my backward way.

* Avenged.

† Gate.

" For well I wot our youngest will chide,
Till my journey to Maro is done : "
So forth with the litter did Rupna ride,
Till Alha's camp he won.

Down from his horse did he leap and stand,
And thrice low louted he ;
But Alha caught him by the hand,
And halsed him tenderly.

" Say, how is it now with Mahoba fair ?
How doth the King Parmal ? "
" Well do all fare by God's grace there ;
He sits and governs all."

" Now hear, my brother," bold Udan cried,
" For Lohagarh be we boune ;
Against the gate let our guns be plied,
And so shall we win the town."

The drummer they called and a pledge they cast,
Gave bangles of gold to wear ;
And they bade him sound the camp around
That each might his arms prepare.

Through each camp street went messengers fleet,
And soon the tidings passed ;
To and fro did the marshal go,
And the troops arranged them fast.

Howda on elephant, selle on steed,
On Manurtha Dhewa sprang ;
On Rasbendul did Udan speed,
And the targe on his left arm rang.

Kabutri there, that right good mare,
The brave Malkhan bestrode ;
Alha sat on Pachsawad strong,
And his Lioness Mira rode.

With beating of drum did the army come,
With flaunting of banners of red ;
The guns were raised and the linstocks blazed,
And the smoke to the gateway spread.

To Jambay's hall two messengers hied ;
The King with his council sate ;
"Lo here the Mahoba host," they cried,
"They have planted their guns at the gate."

Up started the King astonished sore,
He went to the painted tower ;
Queen Kushla met her lord at the door
With her fan of the purple flower.

She joined her hands, "O husband, say,
What evil chance hath passed ?
Why droops the hair of thy lip to-day,
And thy lofty look down-cast."

"How shall I tell the tale, O Queen ?
Thy race is all undone ;
Four goodly sons my stem made green,
But now there liveth none.

"Mahoba's chief, that Udan hight,
Queen Devi's younger son ;
Good sooth a warrior skilled in fight,
He slew them every one."

Fair Bijma was standing the lattice behind
And her father's words heard she ;
"Bendula's rider now will I bind,
Whose fear lies so heavy on thee."

To her bower anon is the Princess gone,
And her Bengal* casket rent ;
She busked her in haste and forth she paced,
And soon to the camp she went.

O'er Alha she cast the Bhairar spell,
He could not speak nor see ;
On Malkhan the Narsingh powder fell,
Then voice and sense lost he.

* Kamrup in Assam perhaps, which is considered the head-quarters of all magic. It is curious to find this a common part of a lady's education as in the old romances of Europe, and we have good as well as bad enchantresses, the Lady of the Lake as well as Morgau le Fay look.

Bir Mahamda's charm did to Dhewa fly,
 Then darkness wrapped him round ;
 Through the whole wide camp not a mouse could cry,
 By the spell of silence bound.

Bold Udan she turned to a ram that day,
 So mighty a charm she got ;
 To lone Jharkhand * she led him away
 To her teacher Jhilmila's cot.

She tied him fast with a silken string,
 At her master's feet she fell ;
 " A Mahoba thief, my father, I bring,
 As thou lovest me, guard him well."

To Maro then and her painted dome
 In haste the Princess passed ;
 And all her spells she summoned home,
 Which on the camp she cast.

Then Alha woke, to Malkhan spoke,
 " My brother's steed I see ;
 But on his back no rider sits,
 O where may Udan be ? "

" Ho, Dhewa wise," brave Malkhan cries,
 " What sees thy prophet mind ?
 Mark sign and book, and soothly look,
 Our youngest how to find."

So Dhewa took his star-time book,
 And soon he 'gan to say,
 " 'Tis Jambay's child, Bijaisin styled,
 Has stol'n our brother away.

" She has made him a ram by the spell she cast,
 Through the might of Gramarye ;
 In Jharkhand lone she has bound him fast,
 Her master's cottage nigh."

" Now rede we a rede, how best we speed,
 To set my brother free : "
 " Let Malkhan don the Jogi's weed,
 And doff his Rajputi."

* The forest of Bainath or Baidyanath, I believe, in the hill country on the rail road between Allahabad

and Calcutta ; but the ballad is quite independent of time and place.

He hath signed his forehead with Rama's sign,
Smeared his body with ashes well ;
He sang the praise of the name divine,
And his sandal beads 'gan tell.

He hath taken his flute and Dhewa his drum,
The feet of their Lord they adore ;
And soon to the Jharkhand wood they come,
And stand at the hermit's door.

Then Malkhan sang and the cottage rang,
So sweetly did he trill ;
Forth to his door the hermit ran,
And asked them of their will.

" O Jogis twain that roam the waste,
Whence come ye ? whither go ?"
" Our master's steps we vainly traced,
His road we do not know.

" So here we stay to ask the way
To Hardwar's sacred flow : "
" First let me see your skill I pray,
Then I the path will show."

Then loud was Dhewa's tambour struck,
And Malkhan danced and sprang ;
The wood as they trilled was with rapture filled,
While every change they sang.

" O Jogis, here in my hut abide,
I'll serve your feet each day ; "
" Waters that flow, and Jogis that go,
What power can bid them stay ?

" Bring forth thine alms whate'er it be,
And let us wend our way : "
" Ask what ye will, an asking free,
I will not say ye nay."

" Now give this ram," quoth Malkhan brave,
He stopped in dumb dismay,
" The boon ye crave is Bijma's slave,
It must not pass away."

" Thy holy deeds are all udone,
By swerving from thy word : "
On that he gave the ram they won,
Nor any more demurr'd.

" What do I with this ram, O sage?
To man I pray thee turn ;
The laws of fast and pilgrimage,
My minister shall learn.

Into his scrip he thrust his hand,
A spell of might he drew ;
The charm he shed o'er Udan's head,
And made him man anew.

But, when the three were passed from sight,
Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear ;
If lady Bijma learn my flight,
She will steal me again, I fear.

" This hermit is a warlock hoar,
Him, Malkhan, must thou kill : "
Then Malkhan turned him to the door ;
The hermit asked his will.

" A draught from out thy well I ask,
On weary journey boune : "
The silken cord, the silver flask,
He stooped to let them down.

And, as he raised the silken thread,
His bright sword Malkhan drew ;
He smote the hermit's hoary head,
And in the cottage threw.

The spells and charms of Gramarye,
They bore them all away ;
So to the camp are come the three,
I wis they did not stay.

When Udan went to Alha's tent,
Right glad was he, I ween ;
He hals'd him well and ask'd what fell ;
Great joy was them between.

FYTTE XI.

They have planted their cannon against the gate,
Proud Lohagarh to quell ;
An hundred guns did in order wait,
Till the word for the onset fell.

An hundred linstocks at once they ply,
And the smoke to the welkin wins ;
And word is brought to the King Jambay,
The Mahoba attack begins.

He bade them fire from every gun
That stood on the turrets high ;
They light the matches for every one,
And the cannon balls roar and fly.

The army of Alha was troubled sore,
As the groaning warriors fall ;
In vain did the cannon of Malkhan roar,
They pierced not that iron wall.

Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear my rede,
Send to th' acacia wood ;
And lade on all our wains with speed
The thorn boughs there that stood.

" Then heap them high in the ditch to lie,
And drive a mine also ;
And many a bag with the powder fill,
To place in the trench below."

The matches they light, the flames burn bright,
They melt the lead of the wall ;
The guns that stood on the battlement height,
Each toppling down doth fall.

Then Malkhan brave his onset made,
His sword at the gate he drew ;
Strokes with his blade full heavy he laid,
And all the guards he slew.

Bold Udan sprang from selle thereby,
Found clubs of the metals eight* ;
The locks at his strokes to pieces fly,
So the army forced the gate.

* These are said to be gold, silver, copper, brass, tin, bell-metal (or steel,) lead and iron.

A messenger ran, a fearful man,
 Where Jambay held his state ;
 And thrice he bowed, and cried aloud,
 "The foe has forced the gate."

Up stert* the King and his nobles all,
 Who sat in the council room ;
 Eftsoons did he the drummer call,
 And turban he gave and plume.

At the first drum-beat they saddle the steed,
 At the second to selle they spring ;
 At the third drum-beat they are ready at need,
 To ride with the Maro King.

The King to Gauri† and Ganesh bowed,
 And in water of Ganga bathed ;
 The muslin they brought was in Egypt wrought,
 Wherewith his limbs were swathed.

His girdle was all of the velvet good,
 With many a gay gold ring ;
 Dagger and sword at his waist there stood,
 As fitted a Rajput King.

He took in his hand his mighty mace,
 To his elephant forth went he ;
 And he stept up the stair of sandal fair,
 Was carved so rich to see.

And, when they reached the Banaphar force,
 From his howda he loud 'gan call :
 "Let none of the foe unwounded go,
 Fight on my merry men all."

His sword each man of Maro drew,
 And all did quit them well ;
 Shot and spear and arrow flew,
 And many a warrior fell.

The sand around was soaked with gore,
 Where thick the ranks did tread ;
 Wounded rose to fight once more,
 Yea, bodies ‡ that lacked the head.

* Started.

† The fair manifestation of Durga,
 wife of Shiva, as Kali is the dark.

‡ Not an uncommon incident in
 these heroic combats.

"Friends," cried Udan, "this our day,
Glory all may reach;
Soon we take our homeward way,
With honour and wealth for each."

He cheered his men, and on they sped,
But the Raja loud 'gan cry;
"Is there ever a Rajput Mahoba bred,
Dares meet with the King Jambay?"

Then Udan struck with his bossy shield,
And the pinnacles clattered from place
But backward soon his courser reeled
At the blow from the Raja's mace.

Then Dhewa smote, but the King was ware,
And a blow on the steed did lay;
He reared full high and fast 'gan fly;
No reining him could stay.

There was never a Chief his place could hold,
Where the Raja's blows did fall;
Oh! bitter that day the war that rolled,
Round the fort of the iron wall.

Faint heart and brave, 'fore Maro's King,
They scattered like morning cloud;
Down the ravine, to 'scape unseen,
Fled many a turban proud.

There were some who holding their breath did lie,
A heap of slain below;
When an elephant mad rushed trampling by,
They died without striking blow.

There were some who swaggered with sword before,
In street though never in tent;
Now only a string and a loin cloth wore,
Their bodies with ashes besprent.

They signed their foreheads with Rama's sign,
With the blood-stained earth they found;
"We were begging our way to the Jagannath shrine,
When the sword play closed around."

The Nine-Lakh Chain :

And one on his back took of bucklers a pack,
Like a Jaipur * artisan ;
" For selling of shield I had come to the field,
Nor wist ere the fight began."

The howdas were filled with blood that day,
The horsemen dripped with gore ;
Friend from foe might no man know,
But the fight raged more and more.

Brave Malkhan stood a while dismayed,
Then fast to Alha sped ;
He joined his hands and asked for aid,
" Brother, give ear," he said.

" No chief can stand in the Raja's sight,
My strength is all in vain ;
But thou art able to equal his might,
And to bind him with iron chain."

When Alha heard his brother's word
For chains he straight did send ;
To his elephant then he gave them to hold,
And, " Pachsawad," he cried, " attend.

" We must bind the foe and make him a show
For the folk of Mahoba town ;
When to King Parmal and to Malhna we go,
In our homeward triumph bouné."

Onward Pachsawad pressed amain,
The ranks he scattered wide ;
As he whirled his chain, he strewed the plain
Like a desert on either side.

The warriors staggered, they scattered and broke,
In hope their lives to save ;
When Jambay saw they fled, he spoke,
And his elephant onward drave.

" Mahoba's champion, Devi's son,
Now settle thy cause with me ;
Alive from the field shall go but one,
So turn by turn strike we."

* This Rajput State seems to retain its fame in the arts to the present day.

'I may not strike, by the Chandel law ;
Do thou strike first, O king :"
Then a good red bow did Jambay draw,
And fitted the notch to string.

The aim was good, the string did twang,
Fast did the arrow fly ;
Across the howda Alha sprang,
And the shaft went whizzing by.

Then his javelin flew, as near they drew,
Now how may Alha bide ?
Queen Sarada's* care at his right hand there
She turned the spear aside.

"Now hear, Banaphar," Jambay spake,
"Twice hast thou foiled my blow ;
In peace thy way to Mahoba take,
For thrice thou 'scap'st not so."

But Alha there his breast made bare,
And did to the Raja cry ;
"No part of a Kshatri's trade it were,
From the battle trench to fly.

"There are homes in heaven stand ready for all,
To-morrow if not to-day ;
And if I in Maro this tide shall fall,
My name shall live for aye.

"One chance is left thee, King, to save,
And see thou miss no more :"
Then drew the King his shining glaive,
And thrice he smote full sore.

No hurt on Alha's body happ'd,
His shield was lifted high ;
At length the sword of Jambay snapp'd,
Then wist he death was nigh.

"I have hewn down elephants with this blade,
And lopped their limbs away ;
Its master's need has it now betrayed,
My life is lost to-day.

* The name given to Durga at Mahoba.

"Now, Raja, now my stroke take thou,"
 And his elephant on he drove ;
 Howda to howda, tusk to tusk,
 Close met the champions strove.

Then Alha forward dash'd his shield,
 With the boss he dealt a blow ;
 The elephant's driver was hurl'd to the field,
 And he waver'd to and fro.

Then Jambay drew his dagger keen,
 Long time their steel they plied ;
 On Alha's body no hurt was seen,
 "Now bind the foe," he cried.

Pachsawad whirl'd his iron chain,
 Dashed the howda to the ground ;
 Soon Alha lighted on the plain,
 And fast his arms he bound.

FYTTE XII.

They sounded the drum of victory,
 And the conqueror's shout they rais'd ;
 They rendered thanks to Rama high,
 And the feet of their Lord they prais'd.

They blessed the virtue of Malhna the Queen,
 And named King Parmal's name ;
 Thus onward Udan's horse, I ween,
 And Alha's elephant came.

On the right band there was Malkhan's mare,
 And Dhewa's courser proud ;
 And on their right side did the Saiyid ride,
 And Ali he shouted loud.

To the house of treasure when Alba came,
 The guards with his sword he killed,
 The locks he broke and the wains did yoke,
 And with stores of price he filled.

A plunder rich from Maro town
 Brought Dasraj's warlike son ;
 And the guns of weight of the metals eight,
 He took them every one.

Horses and elephants spoiled he there,
And every weapon withal ;
Fire he set to the palaces fair,
And blackened the lordly wall.

But when he came to the painted hall,
He stayed beside the gate,
And a messenger sent his mother to call,
And bring from th' encampment straight.

In her litter she left th' acacia wood,
Full hastily did she ride ;
And when at the Lion gate she stood,
The five stepped down beside.

"Now, mother, send," quoth Udan bold,
"And Rani Kushla call :"
Then Kushla's slave her lady told,
As she sat in the painted hall.

"What sleep art sleeping here ?" she cried,
"And sit'st on thy sandal chair ?"
"Alha doth wait beside the gate,
"And bids thee meet him there."

Dismayed was she to hear the same,
Her heart it died away ;
Joining her hands, in haste she came,
And did to Udan say—

"O harm not woman, Udan Ray,
"Though thine the power to-day :"
"I ne'er did smite my foes that fly,
"Nor hand on woman lay.

"But bring my father's turban and crest,
"That have long in Maro lain ;
"And Lakha, too, that dancer best,
"And eke the nine-lakh chain.

"And the litter prepare of Bijma fair,
"With me as a bride to wend :"
Whatever he bade she yielded there,
Until he made an end.

So they moved on to the mill of stone,
 With Devi and the Queen ;
 There did they wait by the inner gate,
 And the litter was set between

But Udan rushed to the fig tree old,
 His father's skull to win ;
 A censer of gold he brought to hold,
 And set the skull therein.

Then Alha and Malkhan the presser plied,
 Yoked in the bullocks' place ;
 Udan beside stood the roller to guide
 Before Queen Kushla's face

And Dhewa too King Jambay threw
 Into the mill to bray ;
 All as he stood they crushed him there,
 Then smote his head away.*

His skull they by Dasraj' skull did lay,
 Who laughed a ghastly laugh ;
 "Alha and Udan, blest be they,
 Of Dasraj' line the staff."

Each of his sons by name he blest,
 And the mother that bare them also ;
 "The fire of my breast this day may rest,
 They have venged me upon my foe.

"An evil son will shame his kin,
 An it were seven ages back ;
 But the parents, who a good son win,
 Nor peace nor honour lack.

"My skull, O sons, to Kashi† take,
 The Gaya‡ rites to pay."
 Then out the skull of Jambay spake,
 "Now, Udan, hear my say.

* The murder of Dasraj seems to have been peculiarly atrocious to have provoked this retaliation. It is but fair to mention that in most of the ballads the Banaphars are chivalrous to a degree towards their con-

quered foes, even after meeting with treachery themselves.

† Benares

‡ The capital of Bihar, a famous place, of pilgrimage, especially for the funeral rites,

"Of four brave sons the water to pour,*
Thou hast not left me one;
My skull then cast on Kashi's shore,
I charge thee, Dasraj' son."

For the litter of Bijma Udan sent,
In the palace hard by to be placed;
A pole he had pight † of the sandal bright,
And he called for a Pandit‡ in haste.

"To Bijma fair I my vow will pay,
And the seven rounds § will tread:"
"What! are thy senses gone astray,
My brother?" Alha said.

"With the house of our foe, I bid thee know,
No marriage feast I keep;
When she thinks of her father and brethren slain,
She will kill thee in thy sleep.

No, Udan, lady Bijma slay,
And smite her where she stands:"
"O spare me, brother, this I pray,"
He cried with joining hands.

"How can I break my Rajput's vow
And lift my hand on her?"
"Then smite the Princess, Malkhan, thou
And see thou do not err."

On Mahadeva || Malkhan cried,
His shining sword he drew;
He smote so sore Bijaisin's side,
He cleft her shoulder through.

Then said she, "Udan, once I dreamed
To spend our lives in fere; ¶
And sweet to me e'en death had seemed
Had thy hand made it dear.

"But, cruel Malkhan, woe to thee,
Thy brother's wife hast slain:
So shalt thou die with no brother by,
Unhelped in an open plain."

* In the funeral ceremony.

† Pitched.

‡ A priest learned in the scriptures.

§ An essential part of the marriage ceremony.

|| The great god Shiva.

¶ Together.

But Udan's soul in love was drowned,
 When Bijma's speech heard he ;
 He clasped her hand and raised from ground,
 And rested her on his knee.

"Here must we part ere yet we wed,
 But meeting canst none desery ?"
 "O lay me down, my love, she said,
 "Since I must a maiden die.

"Here it is best my body should rest,
 But my soul new birth shall see ;
 King Narpāt's daughter of Narwar * town,
 And Phulwa my name shall be.

"And when thou, goodly steeds to buy,
 To the Kabul land shalt ride,
 Our meeting, O love, shall then be nigh :"
 So Bijma spake and died.

But Udan bare her body fair,
 To Narmada's † holy tide ;
 He cast her into the river there,
 While the troops to the camp did ride.

The litter of Devi they took withal,
 And Lakha the dancer true ;
 And Alha did all his warriors call,
 When they to the woodland drew.

A gay gold ring, a robe, a shawl,
 A crest and turban blue,
 Or a silver fee to some did fall,
 Each had his largess due.

"Friends," cried Alha, "all prepare
 Load the wains each one ;
 Home to Mahoba now we fare
 Alha's work is done."

But Udan turned aside from the crowd,
 At his mother's feet to fall ;
 Before the Saiyid old he bowed,
 And eke his brethren all.

* I suppose the town in the Cawn-
 pore district. The doctrine of trans-
 migration must be very useful for

poetical justice.

† The Nerbudda, one of the sacre

rivers.

"An order, O mother, an order I crave,
The Gaya rites to pay ;"
He went with the skulls, when her leave she gave,
And left the triumphal way.

The sound of victory swelled from the drum,
They marched full many a day ;
At length did the host to the border come,
And Alha to Rupna say—

"Ride on to Mahoba our news to bring :"
Then he spurred till he reached the wall ;
He lighted down and he passed the town,
And he stood in the Raja's hall.

Joining his hands the herald drew nigh :
"Now the news of Alha say ;"
"He hath venged Dasraj and hath crushed Jambay,
And is here on his homeward way."

Then Malhna the Queen right glad was she,
She gathered her maidens all ;
By this were arrived the brethren three,
And stood at the city wall.

Madrigals singing, the women came there,
They met them and blessed their name ;
With a four flamed lamp in a salver fair,
Queen Malhna to greet them came.

Seven times o'er Alha she waved the dish,
O'er his body she passed her hand ;
"Now blessed be my sons for fulfilling my wish,
I welcome ye back to the land."

"O mother, thy favour hath gained us all,"
He joined his hands and spake ;
"Now pay I my homage to King Parmal,
If I thy leave may take."

She bade them go the King to greet,
Then Alha before him went ;
His turban of purple he cast at his feet,
And they stood with their heads down bent.

The Nine-Lakh Chain.

The Raja took their hands each one,
And there he set them down ;
“ Come, quench the fire of my breast, my son,
And tell me of Maro town.”

“ O, a fearful fight was foughten, I wot,
Round Maro city wall ;
Four sons that the Maro King begot,
In the war-field each did fall.

“ We bound the arms of the King Jambay,
And crushed in the mill of stone ;
Bijaisin too with the sword we slew,
And her corse in the stream was thrown.

“ All that from us was plundered of yore,
We have brought to our home again ;
And Jambay's treasures, a goodly store,
Have laden on many a wain.”

The King rejoiced and blessed them oft,
And bade the cannon to play ;
From an hundred guns spread the smoke aloft,
Till the folk were deafened that day.

And all the crowd cried “ Victory ” loud,
And alms did free bestow ;
Gold gifts there did no man spare,
Since Alha had quelled the foe.

Lend ear my friends to the song I write,
To give you mirth and glee !
I have told the tale of the Maro fight,
As it was told to me.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Swapna-prayāna. By Dijendra Nátha Thákur. Calcutta: Valmiki Press, Sakávdá, 1797.

THIS is, in many respects, a very remarkable poem, and we are sorry to find that it has excited so little interest in the Vernacular press. We think, therefore, that we ought to notice it at greater length than would usually be deemed either necessary or appropriate in a portion of the *Review* intended only for *short critical notices*.

Swapna-prayāna is an allegory. It opens with a description of an aerial journey, which reminds us of a similar journey over which the genius of Shelley has thrown a flood of poetry and of splendour. *Kavi* or the poet (taken abstractedly) is visited in a dream by *Kalpaná-kumári*, or Imagination, the play-mate of his infancy, from whom he had been separated for a long time. *Kalpaná* takes him up in a car called *Manoratha*, or the Chariot of Desire, drawn by coursers which, "though full of spirit, are *মুহু হুত্ব মরা*." Arriving in *Manorájya*, or the Land of Fancy, *Kalpaná* presents to *Kavi* a garland of flowers as a pledge of her love, and leaving him on the banks of a lake called *Mánasa-sarovara*, goes home to arrange for his reception; whereupon *Kavi*, who has already felt for her the same tender and sacred passion, becomes sad and disconsolate. *Sakhya-rasa*, or Friendship, now comes to *Kavi*, and with the assistance of *Dásya-rasa* (slave—or servantship), performs towards him the rites of hospitality. This done, *Sakhya-rasa* leads *Kavi* in a car, driven by *Sudarsana* (Good Sight), to *Nandanapura* (Land of Joy), whereof *A'nanda* (Pure Joy, springing from moral excellence), is the king, and *Máyá* (or the Fascination of Virtue) is the queen. *Ananda* gives *Kavi* a hearty reception, for the latter in his infancy had known and lived with *Ananda* as his father and *Máyá* as his mother. *Kavi* finds *Ananda* engaged in a consultation with his councillors about the best way of relieving and reclaiming his son *Pramoda*, King of *Viláspur* (the Land of Sensual Pleasure), who was straying a little too far towards dissipation, and had just then sought his father's aid against the hostile and threatening powers of *Rasátala*, or the Infernal

Regions. *Ananda* decides upon abdicating his throne in favor of *Pramoda*, and requests *Sakhya-rasa* to carry this message to *Viláspur*. *Sakhya-rasa* obtains the King's permission to make *Kavi* his companion on the journey; but before he starts, King *Ananda* takes *Kavi* to the residence of his daughter *Shobha* (Beauty)—a region exquisitely charming to the eye. Here *Chitrá-lekhá* (Painting), and *Gándharvi* (Music), the handmaids of *Shobha*, captivate *Kavi*—the former by displaying a splendid gallery of pictures, and the latter by pouring forth musical strains of the most ravishing kind. Accompanied by *Shobha*, *Kavi* visits the bower of *Máyá*, who acquaints him with her intention of marrying him to her daughter *Kalpaná*. *Kavi*'s countenance now evinces signs of impatience for his beloved *Kalpaná*, whereupon *Rájasí*, one of the handmaids of *Máyá*, touches his eyes with a black pigment possessing the wonderful virtue of intensifying the passion of love, and enabling distant friends to see each other. The charm proves successful. *Kavi* sees *Kalpaná* pining away her time on the summit of a hill in the company of her handmaids *Suruchi*, *Saranmayi*, and *Mádhavi*. But the happy vision does not last long. All on a sudden *Támási*, another handmaid of *Máyá*, comes in, deep darkness envelopes *Kavi*'s eyes, *Kavi* falls down senseless on the earth and only awakes to find himself in a boat with *Sakhya-rasa* far, far away from *Kalpaná*, rowing towards *Viláspur*. Ascending the steep bank of the lake with considerable pain and difficulty, the two visitors enter the gay borough of pleasure. *Pramoda* receives *Kavi* with open arms and soon plunges with him into sensual pleasures of the most intoxicating kind. *Kavi* becomes enamoured of *Lálasá* (Lust), the mistress of *A'di-rasa* (Carnal Love), and seals his love by presenting to her the garland he had received from *Kalpaná*. *A'di-rasa*, grown furious with jealousy, applies to *Hásya-rasa* (Laughter or the Comic Spirit), for vengeance against *Kavi*. *Hásya-rasa* contrives to extort the garland from *Lálasá* and carries it to *Kalpaná*, who is just now on a visit to *Viláspur*. The success of the plan is more than complete. For, when *Hásya-rasa* leads *Kavi* to where *Kalpaná* is burning with rage, the latter breaks forth into a scathing remonstrance and walks out of *Viláspur* in dudgeon in spite of *Kavi*'s earnest exhortations and piteous entreaties. *Kavi* grows mad with despair. The gay borough of sensual pleasure becomes unendurable to him. He leaves *Viláspur* with a signet ring from his friend *Pramoda* and enters a gloomy forest. Here he is attacked by two giants, *A'dhi* and *Vyádhi*, who conduct him as a prisoner to *Ha-ha-hu-hu*, King of *Visádpur* (the Land of Despondency)—a region, which seems to be, as it were, the very symbol of confusion, ruin,

and desolation, and is full of oddities and jeering forms and figures of surpassing mockingness. Seeing the ring engraved with King *Pramoda*'s name on the finger of *Kavi*, *Ha-ha-hu-hu*, takes the latter for a spy from *Viláspur* and sends him to *Bhayanaka-rasa* (Terror), in compliance with a treaty for the supply of human beings for sacrifice. The dreadful monarch of *Rasátala* orders *Kavi* to be presented to the goddess *Chámundá* as an offering which will move her to grant victory to the infernal powers in their impending war with the King of *Viláspur*. Forthwith there appears a terrible *Kápálíka*—a worshipper of the goddess *Káli* in her most revolting form and character—who ties *Kavi* hand and foot and addresses to his patron deity a dreadful invocation, exhorting her to accept and to drink the blood of a human being. *Kavi*, finding death so certain, mentally remembers himself to *Máyá* in a most piteous and pathetic strain and quietly resigns himself to a lot from which no escape seems possible. Suddenly, however, a divine form—looking like the very picture of tenderness and compassion—appears before him. The divine personage is no other than *Karuná* (Pity)—the goddess with the bright but melancholy face, who is ever sighing for creation's grief and ever wiping off the tear-drop in her eye. Upon the appearance of *Karuná*, *Kavi*'s shackles fall off, and he is carried away from the slaughter-ground without being seen by the terrible *Kápálíka* and the crew of blood-thirsty demons whom the prospect of a most horrible but congenial repast has gathered around him. On her way out of this infernal region, *Karuná* hears the cries of a lovely damsel called *Pramadá*, the daughter of the vanquished King of the Seasons, who, having fallen into the hands of the infernal powers, had been lately rescued by *Víra-rasa* (Heroism), and placed by him under the protection of *Pramoda*, King of *Viláspur*, but who had been again carried off with violence from the *Viláspur* court and confined in a dungeon in *Rasátala*. *Karuná* rescues *Pramadá* and hurries out of the infernal region. She soon meets *Víra-rasa* at the head of a large army proceeding to fight the powers of hell, who have declared war against the King of *Viláspur* for his sheltering the thrice lovely *Pramadá*. After a severe fight, *Víra-rasa* becomes victorious, and the infernal powers, not excepting the dreaded King of *Rasátala* himself, are completely annihilated. The sight of the battle-field, all red with blood and covered with innumerable corpses and resounding with the shrieks and groans of the dying, fills *Kavi*'s soul with a feeling of abandonment. Led by *Susanga* (Good Company), he ascends *Tapogiri* (Hill of Devotion). Encountering and overcoming various obstacles presented by Lust, Anger, Avarice, &c., he reaches the summit, where he is soon joined by King *Ananda*, *Víra-vasa*, *Kalpaná*, *Pra-*

madá and others. In the presence of all the divine powers, King *Ananda* unites in happy and holy wedlock *Kavi* and *Kalpaná*, *Vira-rasa* and *Pramadá*, *Kalyana* and *Shobhá*. After which the assembled deities pour forth a deep and solemn prayer to the supreme and self-existent *Brahma*, and *Kavi* awakes from sleep.

The allegory is long and not very easy to explain in all its parts. *Ananda*, or *pure joy springing from moral purity*, is a perfectly realisable conception. But *Máyá* is not a very clear idea. If it be the *Máyá* of the Vedánta philosophy, it becomes difficult to substantiate the relationship of husband and wife which the poet has created between it and *Ananda*. But if it only means the *fascinating influence* of pure joy, the particular relationship conceived by the poet becomes somewhat intelligible, though a difficulty still more insurmountable than the one already hinted at seems to be the inevitable consequence. For, if *Ananda* is *pure joy*, and *Máyá* the attraction exercised by the joyfulness of the virtuous, it is hard to conceive how such sensualism, as is represented by the King of Viláspur, can spring from their united action.

This, however, is only an obscurity which creates some speculative difficulty. There is another defect in the structure of the allegory which is really serious from the point of view of poetry and moral truth. Almost all the striking incidents in the poem arise out of the eternal enmity which is represented by Dijendra Nátha as subsisting between the sensual King of Viláspur and the wicked and malicious powers of the infernal regions. We think that this *eternal enmity* is a false doctrine. Sensualism, though alluring to the eye, is really hideous. With all the appearance of bliss and pangless enjoyment about it, it is, most truly and essentially, *misery* and *suffering*. And though looking like power and prosperity, it is in reality synonymous with helplessness and ruin. Such being the case, it is far from correct to say that the demons who inhabit the infernal regions, and whose highest pleasure consists in working ruin and misery, can be unfriendly or inimical to the heedless sensualist whose pathway of life is also the pathway of ruin and misery. It is virtue and vice which are truly antagonistic to each other. And nothing proves this so clearly as the fact, that although, in the poem before us, *Pramoda* and the King of Rasátala are represented as fighting each other, the real combatants are King *Ananda's* hosts on the one hand and *Bhayánaka-rasa* with his infernal crew on the other. It should be remarked that the theory we are noticing has compelled Babu Dijendra Nátha to create an incident, which poetry, morality, and good taste must alike condemn. We mean, the

placing the chaste and lovely *Pramadā* under the watch and ward of the voluptuous prince of Viláspur.

Babu Dijendra Nátha's "*Dasya-rasa*" (Spirit of Slavery) is an unfortunate, if not a wholly incorrect, idea. It smacks of the old world doctrine of slavery sanctioned by Aristotle. The poet, at any rate, ought not to represent the spirit of slavery as one of the permanent principles of human nature.

But the beauties of *Swapna-prayana* greatly exceed its defects and blemishes. The descriptive power displayed in this work is indeed of a very high order, and many are the places where this power has been exercised with consummate skill. The picture of Visádpur, the descriptions of single combats in the war canto, and the scene formed by *Irsha* and *Vará* in *Pramadā's* dungeon, are priceless additions to the casket of gems in Bengali literature. And what makes these pieces supremely interesting is the light, graceful and tingling humour which pervades them all. Indeed, it may be said, that in point of humorousness, the poetry of Dijendra Nátha has nothing comparable to it in any other Bengali poet. In the description of tender feelings and delicate situations Dijendra Nátha is equally successful. For here, indeed, the poet's pencil moves many a time with fairy grace and enchanting softness, and the art of delineation looks refreshingly sweet by reason of a most skilful and felicitous manipulation of methods, which in the hands of some modern Bengali poetasters have become supremely ridiculous. There is, however, one defect in Dijendra Nátha's art of description: want of æsthetic precision. To find in the pure full moon surrounded by a starry infinity, a simile for the sensual prince of Vilaspur, sitting amidst a brilliant but licentious throng of courtiers and courtesans, is neither correct taste nor profound poetry.

Much of Babu Dijendra Nátha's allegory is beautiful and original. The representation of *Shobhá* (or Beauty), as the daughter of Pure Joy and Pure Morality, with the arts of Music and Painting for her handmaids, is not only effective as a piece of description but philosophically correct. The doctrine that, when poets give themselves up to sensual enjoyment, they lose their genius and inspiration, is at once sound and wholesome. The statement that the King of Visádpur is bound by treaty to supply human beings for sacrifice to the dreadful monarch of the infernal regions, is supported by the fact that people in a despondent frame of mind often terminate their lives by violent means. But the most striking allegory of all is the representation of Visádpur as a place full of mockery and oddity. Poets generally describe despair as a frame of mind chiefly made up of anguish, restlessness and sorrow. This is no doubt correct. But despair has another and a much

graver aspect than this. Despair often means want of faith in fellow-men, hatred of society, universal ill-feeling leading to misanthropy. And hatred and misanthropy look upon all things with uncharitable eyes. The best acts of the best men seem to them to be mischievous follies. The weightiest reasons appear to them most frivolous. The kindest attentions of fellow-men are felt by them to be jokes and satires. They regard the universe itself as something without a plan, without order, without meaning—a stupendous mockery, which deserves only to be laughed at. Considered in this light, our poet's description of the Land of Despondency as a place full of oddities and jeering forms, is beautifully correct and singularly original.

We have given so much space to Babu Dijendra Nátha's poem, because it does not belong to the class of poems which is now predominant in Bengali literature. The Bengali has achieved great success in lyric poetry, and had, in fact, done little or nothing up to this time, with only a few remarkable exceptions, in any other department of song. Babu Dijendra Nátha's poetry, without being lyrical, is most successful. And that poetry is about the most intellectual we have yet seen in Bengali literature.

The Vanga Darsana. Edited by Bankima Chandra Chattopadhyaya. Vol. IV. No. 12, Chaitra, 1282 B. S. : Kantálpára, Vanga Darsana Press.

THIS is the last number of the *Vanga Darsana*. Babu Bankima Chandra has taken leave of his readers. We are sorry for this. When the *Vanga Darsana* was started, four years ago, not a single monthly, capable of satisfying the wants of an educated and cultivated public, existed in the Bengali language. Well, in this state of things, the *Vanga Darsana* came into existence, and immediately proved itself a power in Bengali literature. And now, when only four years have passed by since it first appeared, we are visited every month by about half a dozen periodicals like the one whose death we are deploring to-day. The literary activity implied in the existence of so many periodicals is remarkable, and becomes truly wonderful when it is considered that the period of time within which it has been evoked is not more than four small years. But the phenomenon, gratifying as it is, is owing simply and solely to the *Vanga Darsana*, which furnished the impulse that has given birth to so many periodicals. This is a great and glorious work; and if to have done *this* work was Babu Bankima Chandra's sole object in starting his admirable journal, we must agree with him in thinking that his own object is fulfilled, and his *Vanga Darsana* has accomplished its mission.

Regarding the merits and short-comings of the defunct journal

we are not disposed to speak much on this occasion. Its merits have been very generally recognised, and we ourselves have taken many an opportunity of acknowledging them in these pages. They deserve, indeed, a very high encomium, and we are glad to find that the country has pronounced that encomium with great warmth and heartiness. The *Vanga Darsana* had, no doubt, its shortcomings, foremost among which were a little want of grace, a spirit of absolutism sometimes degenerating into pedantic dogmatism, and a coarseness of humour not unlike that which characterised the literature of England immediately before the days of Addison and Steele. There is some excuse for all this in the present state of Bengli literature and general intellectual culture. But even if no excuse had existed, the shortcomings could not have detracted materially from the excellence of the *Vanga Darsana*. Its merits greatly outnumbered its defects.

We grieve for Babu Bankima Chandra's *Vanga Darsana*, and sincerely hope that he will yet revive it. We cannot accept his plea of "fulfilment of mission" and all that. The existence of the *Edinburgh Review*—the first periodical of its kind established in the United Kingdom—by the side of so many other quarterlies, is our plea *in bar* in the case set forth by the said Babu Bankima Chandra Chattopadhyaya. The *literary public*, who are our judges in the cause, must find our aforesaid plea good and valid; and the said Babu Bankima Chandra would do well so to conduct himself in this present matter as not to incur the costs of an 'injunction' for the production of a commodity which is undeniably *ours*, but which he has most wrongfully concealed from us with a view of rendering the decree to be obtained by us useless and infructuous.

Sabhyatár Itihāsa. Part First. By Sri Krishna Dāsa. Printed and published by Daivaki Nandana Sena; Dāsa and Company's Vijnana Press.

IT is no doubt premature, and in some degree improper, to pronounce any opinion on an incomplete work. But there are at the same time cases in which a review of an unfinished work becomes both necessary and useful. And the book before us is certainly one of those which demand criticism, although incomplete. The *History of Civilisation* by Bábu Sri Krishna Dāsa, is a very useful work on a most important and interesting subject. It has been compiled with great care and industry; and the author deserves very high praise for the pains he has taken to render his work instructive. He has, however, fallen into certain mistakes and errors, which we think it necessary to point out in order that they, and everything like them, may be avoided in the succeeding parts of his work.

The first mistake we will point out relates to the author's psychology. Bábu Sri Krishna Dása defines man to be a *compound of intelligence, feeling, and volition*. But this is certainly an incorrect definition. Intelligence, feeling and volition are possessed not only by man, but also by many of the inferior animals, notably the monkey. It is thus clear that, judged by Bábu Sri Krishna's standard, the monkey at any rate might well deserve the appellation of man. The mistake under notice has arisen out of the author's theory that man's *body* is only an instrument, wherewith the mind, which he considers to be the only true man, does its work. Now we must inform Bábu Sri Krishna Dása that the theory which he asserts with so much confidence and emphasis has been clearly and conclusively proved to be false by men like Bain and Spencer, Carpenter and Maudsley, Huxley and Lewes. And we cannot give him a more convenient reference on this subject than what is furnished by the two papers on 'Materialism and Spiritualism' by Mr. Lewes, which lately appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*.

The second point to which we will direct our author's attention is his use of the same word in different senses. In page 52 he uses the word ভাব (*bháva*) as meaning 'feeling,' and accordingly describes it as something which is and must be *natural and spontaneous*. But when, in page 83 for example, he speaks of 'সম্পত্তির ভাব,' he evidently uses the word in a different sense. For the *sense of property* is decidedly intellectual and has little or nothing of the emotional in it.

But our author's gravest fault is the tone of presumption and irreverence which characterises his statement of opinions. After quoting Mr. Buckle's theory of the unprogressive character of moral ideas, Bábu Sri Krishna Dása breaks forth into the query—"I ask, where is the history from which Buckle has gleaned this truth?" This is not conceived in the spirit of humility which befits the earnest student and the true philosopher.

Babu Sri Krishna's style is inaccurate, obscure and inelegant, and it has been rendered extremely disagreeable by a deep taint of provincialism.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Náradíya Dharmasástra ; or, The Institutes of Nárada. Translated for the first time from the unpublished Sanskrit Original. By Dr. Julius Jolly, University, Würzburg, London : Trübner and Co. 1876.

THIS little translation is one of first-rate importance to the student of Hindu Law. The *Institutes of Nárada*, though neither so well-known nor so frequently quoted as those of Manu,

are of the highest authority and importance ; and a knowledge of this Code is of the utmost value for a right understanding of Manu. Dr. Jolly's translation is based on a collation of two manuscripts of high repute, one belonging to the India Office Library, the other to the Berlin Library ; and before the book was issued, the translator was enabled, by the courtesy of Professor Thibaut of the Benares College, to compare his work with a third version of the original. Dr. Jolly has performed his task in a way that deserves, and will command, the gratitude both of Sanskritists and of students of Hindu Law ; by the former his critical notes on the text will be studied with interest, whilst the admirable indexes and preface will be invaluable to the latter. We would especially commend the *Index of Quotations from Nārada in the principal Indian Digests*, which will be found particularly useful. In the preface Dr. Jolly has instituted an elaborate comparison between Nārada and Manu ; and a somewhat slighter but no less valuable comparison between Nārada and Yājñavalkya, whose Code occupies a place intermediate between those of the two first named. In every way the book is worthy of its place in the series of translations of Oriental classics published by Messrs. Trübner and Co. ; and adds another item to the long list of obligations under which that eminent firm has laid the little world of Orientalists.

Pidgin-English Sing-Song ; or Songs and Stories in the China-English dialect. With a Vocabulary. By Charles G. Leland. London : Trübner & Co. 1876.

THIS little book of "Sing-Song," written in the jargon of the native servants in Hong-Kong and the Chinese ports, is both useful and interesting to those who are likely to have much to do with Chinese servants, either in the various ports from Singapore to Shanghai, or in California or elsewhere. It will be useful as giving them some insight into the curious mixture of English and Chinese that goes by the name of Pidgin-English. But the chief interest of the book will be for the philologists, to whom the study of a dialect, of which the idiom is largely Chinese, whilst the vocabulary is almost entirely English, will be both novel and curious.

Pidgin-English bears to English, from the Chinese side, much the same relation that the English of a Madras "boy" does from the Tamil side. Chinese servants who wish to take service with the European residents of Hong-Kong or Shanghai, buy a "Vocabulary of words in common use amongst the red-haired foreign devils," or some similar work ; and the result, polished up a

little by an amateur schoolmaster of the same class, is Pidgin-English. As in India, youthful aspirants are often admitted by the superior servants into a gentleman's house in the capacity of apprentices; and at this stage they are appropriately termed *larn-pidgins*. Mr. Leland assures us that a Chinaman, equipped in this way with a little Pidgin-English, emigrates to California or other parts of America, with the fullest confidence of making himself understood wherever he goes; so that the jargon may be said to be the habitual language of the hundreds of thousands of Celestials who are year by year pouring into America in an ever-increasing stream.

A very short specimen will show that the words are all English, whilst the idiom is, we presume, Chinese: "One-tim one piecee yunki sho-je-man (soldier-man) come China-side. T'at ting talkee one gliffin (griffin), he no savvy too much, galaw." The commonest alteration made in the form of the English words seems to be the addition of the *ee* to the end of the word, as in *piecee*, *makee*. Most of our readers will remember that this "pidgin" was also the pet idiosyncrasy of Man Friday; so that it appears that Defoe was probably not altogether ignorant of Pidgin-English. It would be interesting to know whether any other tongues than those of Chinamen find it necessary to add the *ee* to English words. The difficulty that presents itself to most natives of India in pronouncing an initial *s* preceding another consonant, and the consequent prefixing of *e* or *y*, as in *y-stew*, *e-school*, is now known to be one of the manifestations of the same law that caused the Gallic tongue to change the Latin *studium*, *schola*, into *estude* or *étude*, *escole* or *école*; and so it may be discovered similarly that the Chinaman's suffix is another linguistic phenomenon of a similar character.

Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume. By the Rev. B. H. Badley, of the American Methodist Mission. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press. London: Trübner and Co. 1876.

A LABORIOUS and useful compilation that should command a large sale, both amongst those who are interested in Indian Mission work, and also amongst the commercial classes who may wish to address themselves to the numerous body of missionaries in India. It contains a list of the Missionaries of more than thirty Protestant Societies, with in many cases a brief record of their life and labours; and gives in every case their present postal address.

Remarkable Criminal Trials in Bengal. By Lex. Thos. S. Smith, City Press, Calcutta, 1876.

WE have received a copy of this book so late that we have only time to give it a cursory notice. If our memory does not deceive us this is the first occasion on which the criminal records of our courts have been explored for the purpose of furnishing the public with reading of a very special character; and the present attempt has certainly succeeded in exhuming a mass of very exciting and sensational matter, which has been worked up with some skill, and thrown into narrative form, a decided improvement on the high-and-dry sort of thing with which newspaper reports generally furnish us. Each of these narratives, moreover, deal with a distinct phase and stratum of society, so that we are introduced to bellicose Frenchmen who lived "in the good old days" when duelling was in fashion, and to the profligacy with which English Indigo Planters were familiar in the "olden days," and so on to life in Flag Street and in the back-slums of Calcutta. The actors are Englishmen, Frenchmen, Jews, Muhammadans, and Hindus; Planters, Catechists, Bank-clerks, Judges, and Millionaires. The writer would appear to have studied each of his subjects with some care and attention, and to have taken considerable pains to make his narratives as interesting as possible. Waiving for the present the vexed question as to whether this species of literature is productive of good or evil, there can be no doubt but that the writer has touched as lightly as possible on every thing that is indelicate or unseemly, and has contented himself with recalling events and scenes, with their social surroundings, to which most of our readers must be strangers. The narratives, as we have said, are very interesting, and a Miss Braddon or a Mrs. Henry Wood will find in them an abundance of material to be worked up for the special delectation of readers who delight in the mysterious and the ghastly.

It would scarcely be fair to give many extracts from this work to enable our readers to judge of its merits, and we shall therefore lay but a few before them. The following will enable them to form some true idea of the state of things which prevailed in the Indigo Districts forty years ago.

That gentleman's followers were, in the meanwhile, carrying the luckless Dick Aimes towards the tent of his most inveterate foe. It was a bright moon-light night, and the neighbouring fields and trees were bathed in silver, but those who now strode onwards for Katlamaree had no eye for the face of nature in her softest aspect. The light, however, which they disregarded, enabled a couple of startled cow-herds, and a cultivator who had been guarding his crops, to watch all their proceedings. Suspecting that some deed of violence was being perpetrated, they silently crept up as close to the party as they could, with due regard to their own safety. Standing under

the shadow of a rude embankment, and of some trees which grew by the side of a water-course, they silently witnessed the operations of these men. A peon, also, who was in the employ of Dick Aimes, had followed in the wake of the party, determined to see what would be the result of their proceedings.

Watched and followed thus, Yong and his party carried their victim, shouting "*Hurry bol*"! "*Sheeb Sunker, hurry bol*"! (literally "shout, Sheeb Sunker Hurry," the name of a Hindu idol—an exclamation of triumph) "the breath has left the body of Dick Saheb. They went on thus till they came to the banks of a large tank, where, throwing him down on the ground, they again commenced a fresh attack upon him. They belaboured him mercilessly with their iron-bound bludgeons and thrust the ends of their spears into his sides, kicking and stamping on him as he lay helpless and defenceless at their feet. Thrice did he piteously entreat them, "Give me some water to drink," but he spoke to men who knew no mercy. Finding it inconvenient to carry him in the manner they had hitherto done, they placed him on a *jhamp*, or frame-work of coarse bamboos covered with mats and, bore him on their shoulders, till they got to Yong's tent, where they flung him heavily on the ground, close to the door. He said nothing, but lay on his back speechless—there was a slight shiver—a passing convulsion—that was all. Some of the miscreants who had brought him, now fled in alarm from the spot, guessing, all too well, what that deadful shiver signified. The rest, however, stood at the door of the tent; and on being ordered to do so by Yong, Pierre Aller whipped Aimes several times as he lay on the ground, and one of the native peons attached to the factory beat him with his shoes. Dick still uttered no sound. Yong then stood upon him stamped and trampled on his breast, and finally shouted to those about him to heat the factory iron till it was red hot, and bring it to him, as he proposed to brand him. Startled, however, by the singular silence of the wretched captive, one of the natives sprang forward, and passing his hand close to Dick's mouth and nostrils, looked up in alarm at Yong and said "There is no use in branding *him*, the man is dead!" On hearing this, Yong ordered the body to be brought into the tent, and the crowd to be dispersed, saying "If that is the case, drive all the people away, and what is proper shall be done." The ruffianly gang, accordingly, returned to their homes. Very early on the following morning, Yong, and those who had remained with him during the night, were seen riding away, for some purpose which never transpired. * * * * *

It is a noteworthy feature of these narratives that they furnish, whenever an opportunity of doing so presents itself, *ipsissima verba* of the depositions of witnesses and Medical officers, and the remarks of Counsel for the prisoners; instead of adopting the ordinary and unsatisfactory plan of condensing them in a species of mental gasometer, and then giving the results to the public. The following, for example, is the statement of the Civil Surgeon of Benares, in connection with the murder of little Nelly Mackay, who was flogged to death by her aunt:—

"I saw covered from head to toe with numerous livid stripes, spots, and weals, the latter more especially on the thighs. The same appearances were visible on the back and shoulders. The whole of the lumbar region of the loins on the left side was one diffused patch, partly of a scarlet color and partly livid. From the surface of this portion of the body exuded the usual serous discharge, which I have seen after military flagellations. Her buttocks were also excoriated, and old livid marks were observable on the back of the thighs. It was one raw surface. I concluded that the child

" had died from scourging : the scourging I have described was quite sufficient
 " to cause death. It was sufficient to do so in a healthy child, not directly,
 " but by sloughing and inducing lock-jaw. My remarks apply to the
 " lacerations on the back, occasioned by the last and recent castigation.
 " There were previous weals of some days' standing. Next morning I made
 " a *post mortem* examination in the presence of the Commissioner, the
 " Magistrate, and other gentlemen. Externally the body was most emaciated
 " and bloodless. On opening the chest, the lungs were found collapsed, the
 " heart soft and flaccid, the left ventricle contained about two spoonfuls of
 " coagulated blood, the stomach and intestines were collapsed and empty.
 " There was only a small quantity of fecal matter near the rectum. The
 " organs of the body showed no signs of disease. The examination satisfied
 " me that the appearances of inanition were consequent on the privation of
 " food. *It must have been a slow process of one or two months' duration to*
 " *have caused this inanition.* I cannot say how long the child had been
 " deprived of food, but judging from the upper part of the intestines, it *must*
 " have been twelve or fourteen hours before her death. There was a minute
 " portion of sago in her stomach. Considering the internal appearances, and
 " the laceration externally inflicted, previously and shortly before her death,
 " I came to the conclusion that death was, remotely, the result of previous
 " maltreatment and want of due nourishment, and, directly, from the recent
 " laceration inflicted on the back." The instrument with which this was done
 " was a guttapercha whip, which bore certain suspicious spots on it. These
 " were subjected to chemical examination, and were found to be those of blood.
 " Dr. L—then goes on to say :—" I found the lungs did not fill the chest—there
 " was no unhealthy appearance—no disease of the heart—my opinion is that
 " the flagellation and laceration led to syncope of the heart. I omitted to
 " state that the *skin, texture, and muscles of the back formed one gelatinous*
 " *mass, resembling black currant jelly ! ! !*" * * * * *

"The Jew's Revenge" is perhaps the tale which will most entirely
 arrest the reader's attention. The excitement which was created
 in Calcutta by the murder of Mrs. Leah Judah, and the trial of
 her assassins was strong and wide-spread ; and we dare say there
 are some now in Calcutta who distinctly recollect it. It was one
 of those savage butcheries which, because of the revolting charac-
 ter of its details, leave an abiding impression on the memories
 of those who lived at the time it was perpetrated. In sketching
 the scene of the murder, it is clear that the condition of the
 unfortunate victim, and the depositions of the several witnesses
 have been carefully dovetailed for the production of a picture
 such as this :—

Leah slumbers soundly ; her right cheek is on her pillow, and therefore,
 her left side is uppermost. She has gold bangles on her ankles, and there is a
 diamond brooch and a valuable gold chain and watch under her bolster. A
 thin rope is silently and softly wound round her ankles in prudent anticipa-
 tion of a struggle, but so gently is this done that the sleeper remains all
 unconscious of the operation. The chloroform is silently applied, but its
 effects are only partial, and, to their dismay, Leah moans heavily. The
 dagger is instantly called into requisition, and applied furiously and rapidly
 to the person of the miserable woman. It enters between the 9th and 10th
 ribs and pierces the spleen, dividing it to the further edge, but not completely
 through ; it is rapidly drawn out and dashed between the 11th and 12th ribs,

when the membranous covering lying in front of the intestines instantly gapes through. A shrill and piercing cry rings through the room, and a Mr. Michael, an assistant to Messrs. Samuel Smith, Sons and Company, who resides four doors off, at No. 1 Pollock Street, hears that dismal sound. The windows of his room are open (as the weather is warm) towards Radha Bazaar on one side, and Mrs. Judah's residence on the other, and that fearful wail, that cry of agony, breaks upon him in the stillness of the night. He had heard the kirk clock strike 2 as he was in bed. He remained awake for a short time; then get up and walked about his room, lest he should oversleep himself and thus be too late for a parade of the Calcutta Volunteer Guards, of which body he was a member; and it was near 3 A.M. that Leah's death cry floated into his room. The unhappy woman groans under the pain caused by her ghastly wounds, and would fain struggle, as those only can, who do so for very life, but the deadening influence of the chloroform is still upon her, and her efforts are but feeble. She endeavours to seize her murderers, and only manages to inflict a few scratches on their hands. She succeeds, however, in retaining a rag, a part of the front of a shirt which would give the clue to her assassins at some future time. Her struggles and moanings, however feeble they be, have seriously alarmed her assailants, and if the dagger is now used more furiously and violently than before, it is also plied wildly and without being directed to any particular spot. It is a terrible and savage butchery. It severs the upper lip; it traverses the right cheek, laying it open to the bone; it divides the muscles and vessels of the left arm, in three several places; it runs across the wrist severing the tendons just above the palm of the hand; it cuts the palm to the bone on the little finger side of the hand, and finally, it darts into the right eye, dividing that organ completely through, as well as the edge of the lower eyelid!! The blood rushes forth from these gaping wounds in profusion, bathing her garments, her bedding, and her very extremities with the hideous tide. Leah makes a desperate and final effort to escape. She springs from the bed with the intention of flying into the room in which her children are sleeping, but exhausted by loss of blood, and fettered about the ankles which were encircled by the rope, she staggers forward and falls heavily a little beyond the threshold — dead.

We shall conclude our remarks with the following sketch of what has very correctly been called a *terra incognita* to the larger portion of the community, viz., the back-slums of Calcutta.

"To a very large portion of the inhabitants of this palatial city, its back-slums are a '*terra incognita*.' They have a hazy idea that it is a place intersected by a multitude of narrow lanes and alleys, in which people of all castes, colors, and creeds live promiscuously, and where all sorts of offences, from pretty larceny to cold-blooded murder, are perpetrated; where grogshops and brothels abound; where blaspheming old age and foul-tongued childhood are to be seen together, and where sensuality and intemperance make night hideous with their clamour. And yet there are very few even amongst the oldest residents of Calcutta, who have anything like a correct, well-defined idea of the vice, villainy, and iniquity which abound in those places. This is the dark side of the picture. If we were to say that it had no bright side, such a statement would carry its own refutation. Those who have personally visited these lanes for the purpose of studying their inhabitants, tell us that, amidst much that is revolting and criminal, there are people to be found who are leading lives of probity and rectitude—bravely fighting the battle of life against heavy odds in the shape of indifferent incomes, large families, sickness, misfortunes and disappointments; that there are God-fearing old men pur-

suing their daily avocations amid many sore discouragements; and thrifty, active, large-hearted old women rearing their children, and frequently grandchildren also on pittances so small, as to excite the wonder and curiosity of strangers, how incomes so circumscribed can be made to go so far. In the midst of infinite selfishness, wrong, and cruelty, we meet with benevolence and charity which give out the ring of the genuine metal; men and women in straitened circumstances receiving the orphan child of some distant relative, too poor to support it himself, or of some deceased neighbour, observing, if remonstrated with against this apparent "imprudence," that "God who sent the mouths, will send something to put into them." Others helping their neighbours, and being helped in turn when days of sickness and unforeseen misfortune come round; too ignorant to read, yet knowing intuitively what is the will of God; too simple to argue, but quick to feel."

We learn from a "Notice to the Reader" that it is in contemplation to publish a second series of trials; and as the Crown Records of the Court have only been partially explored, we have no doubt that a "dainty dish" will ere long be "set before" the public for its discussion. We would suggest the advisability of narrating occasionally the stories of some of those murders, the perpetrators of which have never been detected.
